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UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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SUGAR DUTIES.

AT a MEETING of the COMMITTEE of the BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, held at No. 27, New Broad-street, on FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21st, 1845,

The Rev. JOHN HOWARD HINTON, A.M., in the Chair:

Resolved,—That, in the judgment of this Committee, the encouragement of free labour is one of the most effectual means of promoting the abolition of slavery, and the extinction of the slave-trade.

That, therefore, they would respectfully urge on her Majesty's Government, and the Members of the British Legislature, the propriety and importance of admitting the free produce of foreign countries into the markets of Great Britain on the same terms as produce of the same kind from the British possessions abroad.

That, with a view to the still more effectual encouragement of free as compared with slave labour, this Committee deem it important also, that such restrictions as now exist on the agriculture and commerce of the British Colonies and Territories abroad should be altogether removed.

(Signed,) J. H. HINTON, *Chairman*,
JOHN SCOBLE, *Secretary*.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We thank our friend Mr. Lefroy for his letter.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MARCH 5, 1845.

SINCE our last, repeated debates have taken place in the British parliament on the question of the sugar duties. These debates have run to so great a length that, with our small space and infrequent publication, it is impossible for us to give anything like a full report of them; we have thought it our duty, however, in consequence of the importance of the subject to which they relate, to place on record the most material and relevant portions of the speeches which have been delivered, and for this purpose we have resorted to a double number, an expedient which we hope our readers will for once forgive.

On Monday, the 24th of February, Mr. Milner Gibson brought forward a proposition for admitting all foreign sugar at the same duty as British; and on Wednesday, the 26th, Lord John Russell introduced one for admitting foreign slave-grown sugar and foreign free-grown sugar at the same duty. So far as the debates were concerned the questions were substantially one, and the same ground was gone over on both occasions; while both the debates have been very little more than a repetition of the speeches made on the same subject during the last session. For ourselves, we are unfeignedly glad that both the propositions in question have been negatived by large majorities, and that the British Government is to pursue the policy adopted last year. Much of the discussion has related to the protection claimed by the West India interest. We are not among those who hold any protection to be due to the West India interest. We have advocated, and we still advocate, the admission of all foreign produce, being freegrown, on the same terms as produce of British territories. The ground we take is that of humanity; and we must confess that we have seen nothing in the recent debates to move us from it. By some honourable members, indeed, our apprehensions of a fearful aggravation of slavery and augmentation of the slave-trade, as resulting from the free admission of slave-produce, are affirmed to be groundless, and Mr. Ewart proclaims commerce to be the only emancipator. But what on this matter says Mr. Macaulay, in a speech the splendid and powerful eloquence of which is admitted by all parties, and in the most fervid advocacy of the admission of slave-produce? Speaking of the effect of taking off the duty on American cotton, the honourable gentleman is reported to have said, "I have not the least doubt but, as soon as the contents of the budget shall be known across the Atlantic, the slave-trade traffic will become more horrible than ever, that the dreadful jobbers in human flesh, moving up and down the land, south and north, will be more numerous than ever." Of course, Mr. Macaulay believes also that a reduction of duty on Brazilian and Cuban sugar would have a similar effect on the Brazilian and Cuban slave-trade. The free traders will, perhaps, allow some little weight to this testimony from one who is so strongly on their own side. Our entire case, as to the matter of fact, is thus admitted. Mr. Macaulay coolly enough disposes of it by saying, that no obligation lies on us to make ourselves censors of the morals of other nations. To this it was replied by several members of the house, that, with respect to the slave trade, we have already done so; and Mr. Macaulay would seem obliged to admit that his principle could not be carried out without leading to an entire change of British policy in this respect. To this we may add, that we think it not theoretically sound. It would apply as much, we sup-

pose, to the conduct of individuals as to that of nations; and it would, in this application, lead to the abandonment of principles and practices in which all honourable men have concurred.

Reference was repeatedly made in the course of these debates to the feeling out of doors, and especially to the feeling of the great anti-slavery party in the country. On the latter point we read with some surprise Mr. Cobden's assertion, that the anti-slavery party was identified with the ultra-free-traders. "I know," said the honourable gentleman, "that the right honourable baronet and his friends lay claim to the credit of being supported by Sir F. Buxton and the anti-slavery party, on the ground that these sugar duties have a tendency to prevent the slave-trade. Now that (continued Mr. Cobden) is quite a delusion. There is no class of men for whom I entertain a higher respect than I do for those who have laboured to sustain the anti-slavery principle; but I tell you that the men who fought that battle are now in the ranks of the Anti-Corn-Law League." Not exactly so, Mr. Cobden; or, if it be so, what is the meaning of those frequent articles in the organ of the League, in which the anti-slavery party are so perseveringly entreated to alter their opinions? To this allegation, in which the honourable member must have gone somewhat further than his cooler recollection would justify, Mr. Gladstone replied, by justly citing the names of some leading men among the present race of British abolitionists, as evidence that at least a portion of this body coincided in the policy of the Government. We believe that the great majority of them do so; that the change of opinion which has been effected by the agitation about free-trade, is exceedingly limited; and that the expectation expressed by several members in the late discussion, that any practical revival of the slave-trade would arouse the anti-slavery feeling of the country to its pristine energy, would be fully borne out by facts. The nonsense that Mr. Cobden uttered about the members for Manchester, the member for Leeds, and the member for Bath, having been sent into that House by the anti-slavery party, is unworthy of serious notice. Instead of making, in the face of the country, the groundless and fallacious assertion that the anti-slavery party wish for the introduction of slave sugar, he might with much more truth affirm, that they deplore the inconsistencies into which Ministers have plunged themselves, by promoting with one hand what they discourage with the other.

On Friday, Mr. Hogg brought forward a proposition relative to the intended classification of sugars for the purpose of a differential duty, objecting to it as at once impracticable in itself, and as injurious to the East Indies. At the request of the Government, and with a view to further inquiry, the honourable gentleman withdrew his motion. On the same ground also the Chancellor of the Exchequer postponed his resolutions on the sugar duties from Monday last until Friday. We hope we may consider these delays as indications that the Government are disposed to give way on this subject. For ourselves, we earnestly hope that no distinction between sugars not being refined, will be attempted. We would much rather that something should be added to the rate of a duty which should be invariable.

Having made these general remarks on the debate, we shall turn to a little episode in it, which is not without interest. Mr. Gibson seems to have created no small consternation among the West Indians, by quoting the recent proceedings of the Clarendon Agricultural Society, Jamaica, from which it appears that, on two estates in that island, sugar has been made at a cost of 9s. 6½d., and 8s. 10½d. per cwt. respectively. In the House, Sir G. Clerk, with a degree of ignorance to us quite unaccountable, ventured to tell Mr. Gibson that this cost included only the charge for labour; and the honourable gentleman does not appear to have been at the moment in sufficient possession of the subject to have set his reprover right. On Wednesday evening, however, he did so: and we must lend our help towards making the facts of the case as public as may be. The truth is, that Sir G. Clerk is in the wrong; and that the sum stated includes the entire cost of the sugar, allowing for all the expenses of working the estate, deducting, as usual, the value of the rum. The more astounding this statement is to the West Indians in this country, the more it behoves them to take it to heart. It clearly shows what can be done by good management, and goes fully to bear out the policy which would render good management indispensable. We just put by the side of it the following extract from a pamphlet recently issued, entitled *The Sugar Question*:—"A hundred weight of sugar costs 61s., (growth 26s.), and only sells for 52s. and 6d. Most estates are kept up at a yearly loss." No wonder: but whose fault is this?

Two highly important subjects were brought before the House of Commons on Tuesday, the 26th ult., by Sir Robert Inglis, on a motion for papers relating to emigration from Sierra Leone to the West Indies, and to immigration to Mauritius from the east coast of Africa. With regard to the former, we have already directed the

attention of our readers to the very objectionable measures (as we deem them) taken by Lord Stanley, for the obvious purpose of compelling such Africans as may be liberated from captured slavers at Sierra Leone to go at once to the West Indies, and especially to the proclamation issued by Lieutenant Governor Fergusson on the 12th of June last. Sir Robert Inglis adverted, with great propriety and truth, to the principal objections which lie against so forced an emigration; the abandonment of the established policy of Great Britain with regard to Sierra Leone to which it amounted—the mockery of a choice which it presented to the unfortunate Africans—the deluge of vice occasioned by so extreme a disproportion of the sexes—and the plausible pretext which it supplied to other countries for the extension or renewal of the slave-trade under another name. On all these points his observations were at once correct and powerful. In defence of the Government, Mr. Hope said—

“The proclamation stated that all allowances of whatever kind, which had previous to the date of it been issued to captured negroes by the Government on their being landed in the colony, would cease and determine from the date thereof, except clothing and maintenance while under adjudication, which would be supplied to them until they could find an opportunity of going to the West Indies, and no longer. But that was not the rule of the Government; it was pointed to the negroes only, not binding on the Government. The proclamation undoubtedly was intended to be carried out in a spirit of justice and moderation; it was not intended to compel emigration, but to provide against the remaining in a state of idleness in the colony, alike damaging to themselves and to the colonists.”

We confess we do not understand this. The captured unfortunate are told by proclamation that clothing and maintenance will be supplied to them till they could find an opportunity of going to the West Indies, and no longer; and yet this is not intended to compel emigration! Why the time and circumstances of this proclamation make the contrary notorious; to say nothing of the care which the Government takes to have always an emigrant vessel ready for her reluctant cargo. Yet more strangely does Mr. Hope tell us that the proclamation is “not the rule of the Government.” We have thought, in our simplicity, that proclamations were intended to make known rules which the Government had prescribed to itself; but it seems we were wrong. This proclamation, for example, is not the rule of the Government. “It was pointed to the negroes only,” continues the under secretary. But for what purpose, we ask, if it was not to tell them what the Government intended to do? This, at least, is its apparent purpose, and so by the Africans it would necessarily be understood; and since, as affirmed by Mr. Hope, it did not express the rule of the Government, it must have been designed to give them a false impression, and to lead them to a hasty act of emigration under a dread of an evil which would never have been inflicted on them. Can anything be more unworthy of the British Government than such an artifice as this? And how much longer can it answer its purpose, when this declaration of Mr. Hope shall become known at Sierra Leone? But it is not only upon the inhabitants of that colony that this fraudulent proclamation imposes; it has deceived also the people of England. And, since we are now informed that it does not convey the intentions of the Government, we beg to ask what their intentions are, and whether there are any other proclamations issued at Sierra Leone or elsewhere of a character similarly deceptive. To say that Sir Robert Fergusson’s proclamation “was intended to be carried out in a spirit of justice and moderation,” is to say only that he may treat the Africans just as he pleases in spite of his own proclamation, which, although it terrifies them, does not bind him. The people of England really would like something a little more definite and satisfactory than this. A clearer case, we think, cannot be made out than is thus established by Mr. Hope himself for that which Sir Robert Inglis most respectfully asked, a reconsideration of this proclamation.

From the statement made by Sir Robert Inglis in relation to Mauritius, we learn that the colonial ordinance for regulating immigration from the east coast of Africa arrived in this country on the very morning of his motion. Mr. Hope had only to say, consequently, that there had not been time to examine the provisions of it; and he added generally, “that nothing would be approved which would in the slightest degree encourage the slave-trade.” So far as words go, this sounds well; but we believe, with Sir Robert Inglis, that “something very like a slave-trade” will inevitably arise in this scheme of supplying Mauritius with labourers. “How,” asks Sir Robert, “are these people to be brought down to the coast?” Seductive and fallacious promises are the most innocent of the means by which this can be effected; and it cannot be doubted but these will rapidly pass into fraud and force of every kind, not excepting the most horrible and revolting. May we, in addition, beg Mr. Hope, while he examines this new immigration ordinance, to recollect what we stated, on official authority, in our last, that the demand for labour in Mauritius is fully supplied?

By our Demerara papers we are informed of the issue of that secret sitting of the Combined Court, of which our correspondent informed us by the preceding mail. The Court have passed a third ordinance for raising an immigration loan, desirous of pleasing Lord Stanley, if they can. In some points they have yielded to him; but in the main point, that of throwing the expense of the loan on the exports, and not on the general taxation of the colony, they have, as it appears to us, clung to their old position. The clauses which relate to this point amount to this—that the tax on

exports shall be primarily liable for the cost of the loan, and that it shall continue at its present rate until the loan shall be liquidated; but that, in case of its insufficiency, the further cost of the loan shall be laid on whenever the Court may please. This is, in our judgment, a merely circuitous mode of charging the expense on the general taxation of the colony, which is the very thing to which Lord Stanley objects. It appears in the same light to some of our contemporaries in Guiana, and not to the *Congregational Record* merely, but to the *Guiana Times* also. The latter paper thus expresses itself:—

“The combined Court has made a sham of complying with Baron Stanley’s injunctions, and has promised that, for the future, as long as the loan act lasts, produce shall be taxed—AT THE SAME RATE AT WHICH IT IS NOW TAXED. That is to say, supposing that the tax on produce shall be sufficient for the purposes of the loan, and no more, then the civil list shall be paid out of other sources of revenue: and supposing it to be insufficient for that purpose, then the deficiency shall be made good out of those other sources! A quibble, a juggle, a cheat, a swindle!”

Lord Stanley is not the man, we think, to be thus ludicrously beaten. We are authorised to say that a memorial to the British Government in opposition to this ordinance, which was transmitted through a private channel in consequence of the impossibility of sending it in the Governor’s bag by the current mail, has been forwarded to the Colonial office, and that Lord Stanley has promised attention to it when it shall arrive through the official channel.

From Trinidad we have received the detailed account of the hurried passing of the Immigration Loan Ordinance, which will be found at length in another column. We find also that Mr. Burnley is at his dirty work again on the subject of squatting. What significant sentences are these, which we copy from his speech in the Council of Government! “Since the recent reduction of wages the labourers had again commenced occupying and cultivating, without leave or licence, the northern range of hills in the vicinity of Tacarigua, and he believed the same thing was taking place at Point a Pierre. * * We were about importing a large number of Coolies. When they arrived, the planters would naturally be anxious to get rid of such bad subjects as they were now necessitated to employ, and to supply their places by the new arrivals, and then all these would go and do as others were doing at present.” This, then, is at once the real object of Coolie immigration to Trinidad, and the true meaning of the anxiety for the suppression of squatting!

“THE Sugar Question”—such is the title of a pamphlet which has appeared during the present crisis, evidently with a view of influencing the votes of members of parliament, and, according to rumour, with the sanction of the West India body. In style and manner it is perfectly new and unique. It is written at a gallop, or rather perhaps we should say, that it is the complete introduction of the railroad system into the art of pamphleteering. In two and twenty pages of large and open type, it discusses no less than seven questions—the sugar question, the West India question, the African question, the slave trade question, the finance question, the free-trade question, and the ministerial question! To give a sample in detail, we quote the last two sentences of the book:—

“The practical policy, then, on which ministers should now act, without an hour’s delay, is to commute part of the taxes on consumption, including the whole duties on British sugar, for direct taxes: to remove the restrictions on the manufactures of sugar: and to send at least fifty transports to Africa to colonize the West Indies.

“This done, all will be well. But let a contrary course be adopted, and mark the result. Consumption overtaxed, sugar dear, the West Indies lost, slavery restored, America triumphs, England fails in its policy, and the dire idols of Africa remain in their seats.”

Our readers are now certainly out of breath, and must pause a little to recover themselves. The moderation of these gentlemen, who will have the whole of the sugar duties transformed into income-tax, and “at least fifty transports” employed instantaneously in transporting Africans to the West Indies, may perhaps serve to compose them.

We go on to observe that the pamphlet before us is crammed with brief and summary statements of facts, these statements being in a great number of instances deceptive, either by incorrectness or exaggeration. Thus the writer runs into the extravagance of asserting that “the pay of the negroes now averages 50*l.* a year,” the fact being notorious that the average does not reach half that amount, including both “goods and coin.” Thus again he states that “a hundred weight of sugar costs 6*l.*,” allotting to the “growth” of it the proportion of 2*s.*; when we know that, according to recent experiments in Jamaica, a hundred weight of sugar ought to cost but 10*s.*, or even less.

We have already noticed the vast greediness of this writer for immigrants. He admits, however, that “neither Coolies nor Chinese seem so fitted by race, tongue, or creed, for the West Indies as Africans:” and he adds, “the government plan of last year to import 3,000 Africans and 15,000 Indians might now be changed with advantage for one sending 18,000 Africans, and no Indians.” This is a singular admission to be made at a time when 12,500 Indians are supposed to be actually on their way to the West Indies. The writer proceeds—“After all, this is an increase of only two per cent. on the population, while the West Indies require 100 per cent. to make their people as dense as that of Antigua or Barbadoes. Indeed,” he adds, “to do any good to the West Indies, 40, or even 400 ships seem a more likely number than the present four African transports,” (p. 10.) Notwithstanding the

evident extravagance of this language, we believe it shows what the West India party in this country are really driving at, and we beg our readers to ponder it. They want for the West Indies "half a million" (p. 14,) of men, and these to be wrung out of the bosom of Africa! Let this infatuated clamour be put by the side of two facts. The first is, that the planters in the West Indies do not want this multitude; witness the vote of the Jamaica legislature putting a veto on Lord Stanley's proposed boon to them of 5,000 Coolies, and reducing the number to 2,000, together with the refusal of the Trinidad planters to provide for more than 1,800 of the 2,500 intended for that island. The second fact is, that this mass of men can be obtained no otherwise than by a vast extension of the slave-trade in Africa itself, which must be desolated through an immeasurable extent with fire and sword, in order to satisfy the cravings of the English West India proprietors for cultivators of sugar! Some of our readers, perhaps, will say, "Surely such phrenzy will fall harmless upon the legislature and the statesmen of Britain!" But they must not be too sure of this. The only way to secure it is to make their voice heard within the walls of parliament on behalf of truth, justice, and humanity.

SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, BART.

It is with deep emotion we record the death of Sir Fowell Buxton. The melancholy event took place on Wednesday evening, the 19th ult., at his seat, North Repps Hall, in the county of Norfolk. This eminent individual had not, at the time of his lamented decease, reached his 59th year, yet he had lived long enough to secure for himself an enduring fame as one of the great benefactors of his race.

To us it would have afforded a melancholy pleasure to have presented our readers with a full view of the public life of this distinguished philanthropist; but our confined space will only allow of a very brief notice of the services rendered by him to the Anti-Slavery cause, a department of Christian labour to which he specially, conscientiously, and unreservedly devoted himself.

In the year 1817 we find the name of Sir Fowell, then Mr. Buxton, on the list of Directors of the African Institution, in promoting the great object of which, the abolition of the Foreign Slave Trade and the civilization of Africa, he was worthily associated with some of the most illustrious men which this or any other nation has ever produced.

The following year, 1818, Mr. Buxton was returned to parliament for the borough of Weymouth, after a severe contest which he sustained against six other candidates. This circumstance, of course, widened the sphere of his influence and usefulness; but those who knew him best can bear testimony to the fact, that, in seeking the honourable position to which he aspired, he was influenced by no sordid or ambitious motive, but by an earnest solicitude to promote the freedom and welfare of his oppressed and degraded fellow-men, and to advance, to the best of his ability, the true interests and glory of his country. Mr. Buxton continued to represent that borough for a period of nearly twenty years, when, in 1837, he was defeated, after a vigorous contest, by a violent party-movement, the success of which was secured by no very honourable means. He retired from public life without a pang; for his defeat, under the circumstances of the case, was his honour, the disgrace, and it will be indelible, attaching to the constituency which rejected him. Nor was that disgrace redeemed when, in admiration of his high character and distinguished public services, the electors, including his opponents as well as his friends, presented him with a splendid piece of plate.

Having reason to fear that slavery would be extended in the British possessions in South Africa, Mr. Wilberforce, during the parliamentary session of 1822, with his usual eloquence, moved an address to the Crown, with a view of preventing, so far as it was possible, so fearful an event. In the debate which ensued he was ably sustained by Mr. Buxton, who concluded a powerful speech in the following words, which we give as indicating the estimate he had then formed of the character of slavery:—"As nothing would be more shameful, or more wicked, than the rise of slavery in our own possessions; so was there nothing more consistent with the course we had pursued (on the slave-trade), or more congenial with the disposition and spirit which the people of this country had manifested, than the deliverance of the whole of our South African dominions from slavery and slave-trading. In effect this was within the power of Government, and was therefore their bounden duty."

Whatever assistance, however, public or private, Mr. Buxton gave to the Anti-slavery cause in the earlier period of his public career, it was not until 1823, that he was placed in the eminent position of its leader in the House of Commons, by the public designation of Mr. Wilberforce, and the unanimous approval of the country. Others might probably have been found possessed of more brilliant qualities, but the sagacious eye of Mr. Wilberforce could discover no one more worthy to be his successor, and the event fully justified the wisdom of his choice. Never could a man have brought to the advocacy of the cause greater singleness of purpose, a deeper sense of its importance, or a more determined zeal to do it justice.

In 1823, the London Anti-Slavery Society was formed, and the campaign was then opened against colonial slavery. Of this important institution Mr. Buxton was elected a Vice-President, and, on the 15th of May of that year, he proposed his celebrated motion,

which struck the first blow against the detestable system, and finally led to its complete abolition. The motion was as follows:—

"That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution, and of the Christian religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British dominions, with as much expedition as may be consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned."

In the course of the speech delivered by Mr. Buxton in support of his motion, a speech characterised by great moderation and firmness, he stated the grounds on which the anti-slavery body generally, as well as himself in particular, rested their apology for gradual instead of immediate abolition. We give his words:—"I cannot say I deserve any credit for abstaining to liberate them at the present moment. I must confess, that, if I conceived it were possible for the slaves to rise abruptly from their state of bondage to the happier condition of freemen; if we could clothe them, not only with the rights and privileges, but with the virtuous restraints of social life; if I did not know that the same system which has reduced them to the condition of brutes has brutalized their minds; if, in fact, I deemed them ripe for deliverance, my moderation, I confess, it, would be but small. I should say, 'The sooner you cease from doing injustice, and they from enduring it, the better.' I should take no circuitous course: I should propose no tardy measures of amelioration: I should name no distant day of deliverance; but this night, at once and for ever, I should propose to strike off their chains; and I should not wait one moment from a conception that the master has the least shadow of a title to the person of the slave." Had Mr. Buxton's motion been unsuccessful, it was his intention to have brought in a bill or bills, embracing among others the following objects, viz. to cause the slaves to cease to be chattels in the eye of the law—to remove obstructions to their manumission—to prevent their removal from one colony to another *as slaves*—to abolish compulsory labour on the sabbath—to put an end to the driving system—to secure the rights of property to the slaves—to put an end to the arbitrary punishment of slaves—to make their testimony available in courts of justice—to provide religious instruction for them—to institute marriage among the slaves, and to prevent its forcible disruption—and to declare all children born after a certain period to be free.

The Government, however, resisted the motion of Mr. Buxton, and substituted for it a series of resolutions, the purport of which was, that it was expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the slave-population in his Majesty's colonies, with a view to their participation in those civil rights and privileges enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects, at the earliest period compatible with the well-being of the slaves, the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned.

The concession of the great principle—amelioration with a view to ultimate emancipation—for which he had contended, led Mr. Buxton and his friends in the House of Commons to acquiesce in the governmental resolutions which received the unanimous approval of the House.

This point having been gained, the next was to ascertain the steps the Government proposed to ensure practical efficiency. The following were indicated as the meliorative measures they were prepared to sanction:—Obstructions to emancipation were to be removed; slaves to be protected in the possession and transmission of property; religious instruction to be provided; the driving system to be peremptorily abolished; an end to be put to the corporal punishment of females; Sundays to be secured to the slaves for rest, recreation, and religious instruction, and the marriage of slaves sanctioned by law. The slaves, however, were still to be regarded as chattels, for fear it might disturb the tenure of property, and the only security on which money had in many instances been advanced, were this detestable feature of slavery done away; and the offspring of slaves were still to be regarded as slaves.

The announcement of the intentions of Government was received with furious discontent by the colonies, who left no means untried to circumvent them, and to bring into disrepute Mr. Buxton and his associates in the great work of abolition. The Government evidently quailed under the formidable opposition of the colonies, and hence we find that its measures were to be confined in the first instance to certain crown colonies, over which they had complete jurisdiction. On the debate originated by Mr. Canning in 1824, in connexion with the Trinidad order in council, Mr. Buxton spoke with great effect. Contradicted in his assertion that female slaves were continually whipped in the presence of their relatives, he said, "I request gentlemen to wait until the fit opportunity arrives for reply and contradiction, if I am wrong. I well know the difficult situation in which I stand. No man is more aware than I am of my inability to follow the brilliant and able speech (Mr. Canning's) which has just been delivered. But I have a duty to perform, and I will perform it. I know well what I mean by this. I know how I call down upon myself the violent animosity of an exasperated and most powerful party. I know how reproaches have rung in my ears since the pledge was given, and how they ring with tenfold fury now that I call for its fulfilment. Let them ring! Rather than I will purchase for myself a base indemnity, with this sting on my conscience." Addressing the House, he said with energy, "You ventured to agitate the question—a pledge was obtained. You were therefore in some sort the holder of that pledge, to which the hopes of half a million of people were linked. And then, fearful of a little unpopularity, and confounded by the dazzling eloquence of the right hon. gentleman, (Mr. Canning,) you sat

still—you held your peace, and were satisfied to see this pledge, in favour of a whole archipelago, reduced to a single island."

On the presentation of a petition for the abolition of slavery, in 1826, signed by 92,000 persons, Mr. Buxton complained of the opposition of the colonists to the regulations proposed by Government, and urged upon them the absolute necessity of giving them practical effect. "Nothing," said Mr. Buxton on that occasion, "could be more unequivocal than what was required from the West India colonists; nor could anything be more unequivocal than the utter refusal on their part to carry into execution the proposed measures for the benefit of their slaves." Mr. Canning admitted that the vote of the House of Commons, and the recommendations of the Government, having for their object the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, had been refused, and that the order in council intended to enforce the regulations had failed; but he would not allow that a case had arisen for the direct legislation of Parliament on the subject. Further time was to be given the colonies to comply with the decision of the British Legislature and of the Government.

In this year Mr. Buxton appeared as the accuser of Sir Robert Farquhar, on the ground of his having connived, whilst Governor of Mauritius, at the slave traffic which had been notoriously carried on in the island. An immense number of witnesses had to be examined, and their testimony to be thoroughly sifted and arranged; and although Mr. Buxton was ably assisted by Sir (then Mr.) George Stephen, his health gave way under the accumulated amount of labour he had to sustain, and disqualified him for some time from public duties. There can be little doubt that his exertions and his anxieties at that time laid the foundation of disease so deeply in his constitution, as to greatly abridge the period of his existence. As to the case against Mauritius and its Governor, it was so abundantly made out that the Government determined on the emancipation of the slaves surreptitiously introduced into that colony. But delay after delay took place in carrying this determination into effect, and the result ultimately was, that, instead of punishment, the Mauritians were allowed to hold them as apprentices until the year 1838, when they received compensation for their emancipation.

It is needless to say that the discussion of the great question of emancipation came up from year to year, and in various forms, in the House of Commons; and that debate succeeded debate without any apparent point being gained, except, indeed, that the case of Mr. Buxton became clearer and clearer, and the obstinacy and contumacy of the West Indians, became stronger and stronger. This led to the substitution of the doctrine of immediate for that of gradual emancipation, and to a determination on the part of the country at large to have it. Mr. Buxton became the exponent of this sentiment in the House of Commons. Public meetings were held in all parts of the country, petitions were poured into parliament, and so irresistible was the appeal, that, in 1832, he carried the appointment of a committee "to consider and report upon the measures which it might be expedient to adopt for the purpose of effecting the extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies;" to which was added, on the motion of Lord Althorp, "and in conformity with the resolutions of this House of the 15th of May, 1823." The result of the labours of this committee, triumphantly established the following points. 1. That the slaves, if emancipated, would adequately maintain themselves by their own labour; and 2. That the danger of withholding freedom from the slaves was greater than that of granting it. The controversy therefore respecting the expediency of emancipation was decided: the justice and humanity of such a measure had long ceased to be a question.

From this period, events bearing upon the abolition of colonial slavery followed each other in such rapid succession, that a bare enumeration of them would occupy considerable space. It may, however, be said, that Mr. Buxton never lost sight of his position through them all, and availed himself of them all to forward the object he had so much at heart. At length the great subject was taken out of his hands by the Government, and Lord Stanley was selected to introduce it to the attention of the British legislature. This he did in a speech of great eloquence and power, on the 15th of May, 1833. In the accumulation of facts it was overwhelming—in argument, conclusive and convincing—and in appeal, irresistible. The conclusion, however, was unworthy of the great case he had submitted to Parliament. The slaves were to be continued in a state of semi-bondage for a term of years; and a loan of fifteen millions sterling was to be advanced to the planters, to provide against the risk of loss which they might sustain by the abolition of slavery.

When it became known that the proposed loan was to be repaid to the Treasury by the negroes, Mr. Buxton, in common with the great body of the abolitionists throughout the country, resisted it as utterly unjust, and intimated his dissent from the proposition to the Government. Taking advantage of this, the Government changed the loan of fifteen into a grant of twenty millions sterling; but still determined to retain the negroes under a system of apprenticeship for twelve years. On this point Mr. Buxton joined issue with the Government.

When the abolition bill was in Committee, he moved an instruction to limit the apprenticeship to the shortest period necessary to establish the system of free labour. In this he was beaten by a majority of seven only, but it had the effect of reducing the period of the apprenticeship from twelve to six years. Not satisfied, however, with this reduction, he moved again that the apprenticeship should terminate in two years; viz., on June 1st, 1836. This was

negatived by a majority of seventeen. Finding himself foiled a second time, he attempted to induce the House of Commons to withhold a moiety of the compensation until the apprenticeship ended, but lost his motion by a majority of fifty-one. From year to year, whilst he sat in Parliament, he failed not to bring the working of the system before the house of which he was a member, in which he complained that, bad as the law was, it was worse in practice. Having been misrepresented upon this point in the House, when he was no longer a member, he addressed a letter to Lord John Russell in 1838, explanatory of the course he had taken upon the subject, in which he says:—"Permit me with all possible distinctness to declare, that, from the first day on which Lord Stanley's scheme was propounded to the present hour, I have had but one mind on the subject, viz., that the apprenticeship was unjust in principle, indefensible in policy—an anomalous, unnatural, and unnecessary state of things—and in practice, as the practice has unfolded itself, worse than in theory." In that year the apprenticeship was abolished, and our honoured friend saw the end of his great exertions and generous sacrifices accomplished. If to Mr. Wilberforce, as the leader of the Anti-Slavery body in his day, belongs the honour of the abolition of the slave-trade, to Mr. Buxton, as his successor in the position which he held, belongs the honour of the abolition of colonial slavery. If, in any part of the policy of these great men, some of their fellow-labourers differed from them, whether it respected the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery, or the civilization of Africa, none ever doubted the purity of their motives, or the loftiness of their aims. They now rest from their labours, and their works follow them. Both were eminent Christians; and, as they had endeavoured, each one in his sphere, to promote the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men, so both departed in the faith and hope of the gospel. Influenced by similar principles, animated by the same spirit, and impelled by equal zeal, may there be raised up among us men who will carry forward to its completion what yet remains to be accomplished in the entire freedom and welfare of the human race!

We conclude this brief and imperfect sketch of our departed friend, with a copy of the minute passed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, of which he was a member. It is the sincere tribute of men who knew, loved, and honoured him.

At a meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held at 27, New Broad-street, on Wednesday, Feb. 26, 1845. George William Alexander, Esq., in the Chair, it was unanimously resolved,

That this Committee, deeply impressed with the value of the eminent services rendered, during a long period of years, to the cause of suffering and oppressed humanity by their much-lamented friend, the late Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart., feel it to be their duty to record the high sense they entertained of his private worth and of his public labours. By his decease the cause of Christian philanthropy has lost one of its brightest ornaments, Africa one of its most devoted and munificent friends, and the Negro race one of their most active, conscientious, and successful advocates. As the successor of Mr. Wilberforce, and the recognized parliamentary leader of the abolitionists of Great Britain and Ireland in their great struggle for African freedom, his memory will be cherished with affectionate respect by his coadjutors, with the liveliest gratitude by the emancipated slaves of the British colonies, and with honour by posterity.

To Lady Buxton, and her much respected family connections, this Committee tender the expression of their heartfelt sympathy and sincere condolence, and would add their earnest hope that they will be enabled to bear with Christian resignation the great loss with which it has pleased Divine providence to visit them.

Extracted from the Minutes,

JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MONDAY, February 24.

SUGAR DUTIES.

Mr. M. GIBSON rose for the purpose of moving the amendment to the order of the day of which he had given notice. If the colonial interests laboured under difficulties in consequence of the legislation of that house, he contended that compensation had been given in the shape of a vote of public money to the amount of 20,000,000*l.* With regard to the alleged deficiency of labour and other difficulties under which the colonists laboured, and for which 2,300,000*l.* was next year to be taken from the pockets of the consumers, was that sum to be given to other parties than those who complained? Was there any complaint that the East Indies or the Mauritius suffered from want of labour? and, if not, why should this sum be given indiscriminately? There was no part of the world in which labour was more abundant than in British India; and he believed he was correct when he stated, that at the present moment there was in the Mauritius a surplus of labour; many persons wandering about in search of employment, so great was the number of Coolies imported beyond the amount of labour prepared for them. In Barbadoes, too, there was at present an overflow of labour: therefore Barbadoes should not be included in the list of protection. Antigua should also be put out of the list. What then remained? Comparatively, a very reduced proportion of colonial produce; and were they entitled to any portion of this 2,300,000*l.*? What was the alleged grievance in reference to the deficiency of labour? Labour was dear, because it was not abundant; the cost of the production of sugar in the West India islands was increased

by the difficulty of obtaining labour and the rate of wages they were compelled to pay. But what were the facts of the case? He would state, upon good authority, what was the cost of producing a hundredweight of sugar previous to the year 1828, when the colonists had all the advantages of slavery in its most unmitigated form, and were under no apprehension that it would be abolished. Mr. Porter said, "During the ten years from 1819 to 1828 the whole expenses on a particular estate attending the culture of the cane, including provisions, the hire of provision grounds for the use of the negroes, lumber stores, repairs of buildings, salaries, &c., was 26,851*l.* The number of slaves, of all ages and both sexes, employed was from 127 to 152, the average number being 140. The estate produced 29,492*cwt.* of sugar and 164,285 gallons of rum. Now, that amount of rum, at 1*s.* 6*d.* the gallon, would produce 12,321*l.*, and leave a balance of 14,529*l.* as the cost of 29,492*cwt.* of sugar, or 9*s.* 10½*d.* the *cwt.*" He would now give them the cost at the present moment upon two estates, subject to all the difficulties which were now complained of by the West India colonists, and which were urged as a ground for the protective duty. The *Jamaica Royal Agricultural Society's Reporter* for June 20, 1844, contained a statement to the effect that the Clarendon Agricultural Society gave a prize of 20*l.*, or a piece of plate to that value, to the manager of that estate on which the greatest quantity of sugar had been made at the smallest cost, between the 1st of January, 1843, and the 31st of December, 1843. "all things considered." Allowance, therefore, was made for the difficulties attending the want of labour, in order that there might be a fair competition as to who could produce at the least cost. Now, what was the result? Why, that on one estate the cost of producing a *cwt.* of sugar was 10*s.* 2*d.*, while on another it was 6*s.* 9½*d.* So that they had it now on a good authority that the cost of producing a *cwt.* of sugar in the West India colonies was, during the continuance of slavery 9*s.* 10½*d.*, while at the present moment it was something between 10*s.* and 6*s.* This being so, he (Mr. Gibson) wanted to know, what was the ground on which they were called on to give to the West India planters 10*s.* additional on every *cwt.* of sugar they produced? Why, the sum thus given to them was clearly more than the whole cost of the production of the sugar (hear, hear). Why, if the Brazilian could grow his sugar for nothing—if sugar were rained down to him from the skies—if it were produced by no effort of human industry—if no labour were employed—still that 10*s.* protection would place the Brazilian at a disadvantage as compared with the West India proprietor. But was it a fact that there was any deficiency of labour in the colonies? Would any one get up and state that the difficulties which arose in the colonies were to be attributed to the freedom of the labourers? Why, the noble lord the Secretary for the Colonies showed us a year or two ago that the supply of labour in our West India colonies was sufficient, if that labour were properly applied. If the labourers were properly used—if all the remnants of the evil practice which existed in the time of slavery were abolished, and the West India proprietors tried to carry out the Emancipation Act effectually, faithfully, and in its true spirit, he (Mr. Gibson) thought he could infer from the language of the noble lord that there would not be a difficulty in procuring continuous labour. The real reason why the West Indian colonist could not get a sufficient supply of labour, and that the negro would not give his sinews, was that the planters would not reward him according to the work he did (hear, hear). Why, if the British agriculturalists were to deal with the British labourer as the planters had dealt with the negroes, he very much doubted whether there would not be found to be a great difficulty in getting continuous labour (hear). But another complaint, and it did appear to him to be a most anomalous one, was, that the colonists were suffering from the number of able-bodied paupers (hear). From one part of the body a complaint came that there was a deficiency in the supply of labour, while others complained of the expense they were put to in the maintenance of able-bodied paupers (hear, hear). The difficulty of getting labour, and the existence of able-bodied paupers, seemed in the case of the West India colonies, to arise equally out of the manner in which the colonists employed their labour. Of course the greatest repugnance was created to labour when those who employed it persisted in treating free men as slaves. It was, in fact, a matter of very great doubt whether the conditions which were imposed on the West India labourers were not inconsistent with the spirit of the Emancipation Act, and at variance with the intention entertained when that act was passed—that the negro should be raised to all the rights of the free man. Another reason why the colonists found such a difficulty in getting free labour was also set forth by the noble lord. In setting before the West India interest the real causes of the difficulty of obtaining labour, the noble lord pointed to the absentee system—a system which was going on to such an extent that it was in vain to hope that the industry of the West India colonies could be profitable under any system of protection or monopoly. The great bulk of the West India proprietors lived away from their estates, and were wholly ignorant of the great branches of labour that were necessary for their cultivation. They knew nothing of how their own interests were conducted in the colonies. Their estates were left to the mercy of attorneys and overseers, who had no interest in the permanent value of the property, but who were only desirous of getting as much as they could for themselves for the time being. And what interest was it that was neglected? In the cultivation of the sugar-cane several processes were required besides agriculture—there were manufacturing processes, and distilling and chemistry were also necessary to its production in perfection. Yet all these considerations were neglected by the only person who really had a permanent interest in the success of the speculation. Why, if the hon. gentleman, the member for Stockport, were to live at Vienna, leaving his print works to be conducted by attorneys and overseers, would he not very soon find it impossible under any system, however favourable the markets or the prices, to carry on his business with anything like profit to himself or return for his capital? Yet that was the condition of the West India proprietors. They lived away from their estates, and, unlike the great English landed proprietors, they did not leave them to the management of persons who had an interest—they did not let them to tenants, so that the estates had the benefit of their personal supervision. The West India planter, who had a much graver responsibility, lived away entirely from his estates, and then came to Parliament, saying that his business was not a profitable one, and asking Parliament to levy a large contribution on the great body of the working industry of

the country, to enable him to meet the deficiencies in his income created by his absurd and injurious management. No juggling of duties in that house would restore their prosperity—no Parliamentary majorities would give improvement—no dancing attendance at the Colonial-office, praying for this or that favour—nothing could be done without a better system of employment, a more economical application of labour, better modes of cultivation, more extensive application of science and machinery. Why, the noble lord the Governor of Jamaica (Lord Elgin) had told them that the mere substitution of the plough for the hoe would make a difference of 50 per cent. in the amount of production. He observed that recently in Jamaica, Captain Dillon, in an able and sensible speech, observed that it would be better for the colonists to spend a part of their colonial income in purchasing steam-engines and new machines from England than to attempt to promote the immigration of fresh labourers. He (Mr. Gibson) thought that Captain Dillon had taken a sound and sensible course, for it appeared that for three centuries past there had not been the slightest improvement in the cultivation of sugar. The steam-engine was shown to be an aid to labour,—why not use it in the West India colonies? Why should not the planters adopt the principle of the English manufacturers—that of not so much increasing the amount of manual labour, as of rendering it more productive by the use of machinery? He would not dwell any longer upon this branch of the question, because he would fairly admit, that if it could even be shown that they were adopting a plan of cultivation in the West Indies most economical,—even if it could be shown that protection had worked all the good that the most sanguine person had ever expected from it, he would still say that protection was unjust to the community of this country. He knew that they were fond of saying, that although upon the face of this protection to colonial interests it was unjust to the trade of this country, still that we did gain advantages by some extension of our imports, or some increase of trade, or some augmentation of power, or something which had a tendency to satisfy the people of this country that national interests were consulted. But let them take a short view of these allegations. Could it be said that we had increased our imports by the protection afforded to the West India colonies? What was the quantity of sugar brought from the West Indies?—and he would take a period previous to slave emancipation in order to get rid of that argument, that production had diminished in consequence of the emancipation of the slaves. He would say, that production was decreasing for many years previous to the year 1834, when emancipation was carried (hear, hear). Our imports from the West India colonies had been gradually decreasing, and yet there we had all the advantages of monopoly and slave labour (hear, hear). The right hon. baronet at the head of the government distinctly stated that there was no material increase in our imports from the West India colonies; that although there might be in one year a larger quantity than in another, still on the whole the imports were comparatively stationary; and, when they considered the vast increase of the population, what a deficiency there must be! But then he might be told, perhaps, because some hon. gent. said that exports did not depend upon imports, that we had a larger trade to the West Indian colonies than we should have but for this protection, and that this protection had increased our trade, and was advantageous to the British manufacturer. He must confess that that argument was but ill supported—in fact, it was not supported at all, but was rather contradicted by facts. What had been our exports to the West India colonies? Had they increased under the influence of this monopoly? Certainly not. They were as great in 1794 as at the present time (hear). In that year they were 3,632,762*l.*; in 1804, 4,281,735*l.*; in 1829, 3,612,085*l.*; in 1842, 2,591,425*l.*; and in 1843, the last year upon which the accounts were made up, they were 2,882,441*l.* Compare 1824 with 1844. In 1824 they were 4,000,000*l.* and upwards; in 1844 they were only 2,000,000*l.* and upwards. Did that look as if the exports had increased gradually under the beneficial shelter of protection? (hear, hear.) At the present moment the Dutch government admitted sugar and coffee, and all the produce of Java, upon the same terms, at the same rate and duties, with the produce of Brazil and Cuba, and foreign countries. And what was the practical result of that fair competition? Why, that the production of sugar by free labour in Java had gradually increased during a long period of years under the encouraging influence of competition (hear, hear). From the year 1829 to the year 1843 the production of sugar in Java had increased from 91,227 *cwt.* to 1,000,000 *cwt.*; exposed to free competition with the sugar of Brazil and Cuba—free labour against slave labour—that competition which hon. members opposite were unwilling should take place in this country (hear, hear). This was an example, which at any rate might satisfy them, that it was possible for free-labour produce to compete with slave-labour produce; and he called upon them, if they had any wish to see the emancipation of the slave carried out through all parts of the world, not to sanction by legislation the dangerous doctrine, that the labour of the free man could not compete with the labour of the slave. He would conclude by moving, as an amendment to the order of the day for going into Committee of Ways and Means on the sugar duties—"That no arrangement of the sugar duties will be satisfactory and permanent which does not involve an equalization of duty on foreign and colonial sugar."

Mr. EWART said, it might be urged, in the case of sugar, that this duty was kept up because of the existence of slavery. Did they think they could put down slavery by fiscal regulations? Why, suppose that when first their great manufacturers introduced the cotton and tobacco of America into this country they had been objected to because they were the produce of slave labour, would the rejection on this ground have destroyed slavery in the United States? (hear, hear.) He believed there was only one great emancipator, and that was Commerce (hear). But he should be told that they were bound to maintain the existing protection of colonial interests. What had been the result of all their protection? Lethargy—complete paralyzation of the powers which ought to be called out and developed in the West Indies. A railroad in Jamaica had been alluded to, and he happened to be connected with the formation of it; a near relative of his was chairman of the directors; and he could state that, so far from finding the negroes disinclined to work in the execution of that great undertaking, they were in fact the workmen upon it, and there was every promise that it would be an investment which would worthily remunerate British capital and enterprise. Now, this was the real way to call out the dormant energies of the West Indies. Their true

malady was the gigantic system of absenteeism of which the House had heard. But there was another subsidiary power, the power of competition; and until that commanding power also was called into existence, the resources of the West Indian colonies would never be fully developed. Why, if the mere remote sound of competition—the distant rumour of rivalry in futurity—had already created improvements (as it had), and thrown the colonists into a state of animation, after the torpor in which they had so long, not lived, but vegetated, what would be its result when it came into present and full operation? (hear, hear.) Then, did they wish to put down slavery and the slave trade?—commerce was their only resource. Did they wish to call out and develop the resources of their West Indian colonies?—competition was the only means; not protection, not fiscal regulations, not naval armaments.

Mr. JAMES said, the amendment, if carried into a law, must inflict injustice on millions of human beings, for it would make the slave-trade more profitable than ever, and inflict more tortures on the African race, and, besides, do fresh injustice to the colonists. The hon. member touched on the subject of absentee West Indian proprietors, and the hon. member who spoke last (Mr. Ewart) had joined him in saying that the estates could not be profitably cultivated in the absence of the proprietors. He (Mr. James) certainly thought so too, and he might be considered pretty nearly as a resident proprietor, as he had a son residing on his estate. It was true the West Indian proprietors had got compensation for their slaves, but they had got no compensation for their land, and their land was of no more use to them without labour than the mills would be to the master manufacturers of Manchester, if their operatives were taken away from them, and their machinery stopped. The fact was, some means ought to have been taken at the time of the emancipation to provide labour for the colonies; those means had not been taken, and that was the reason of their present disastrous condition. It was said, "You use slave-grown coffee, cotton, and other articles, and why not sugar?" He (Mr. James) would tell the House why. Sugar required an immense deal of labour in the cultivation of it; that was not the case with cotton and coffee. The objection to the admission of slave-grown sugar was not so much because it was the production of slaves, as because it would tend greatly to give a stimulus to the slave-trade, which was not the case with respect to cotton and coffee, which required very little labour to raise them. The cost of making a hogshead of sugar in Jamaica was about double what it was in the Brazils or Cuba. Thus, if the West Indians were to be brought into direct competition with the population of the Brazils or Cuba, they would be driven out of the market; the cultivation of estates would cease; and they would be ruined. That was just what would happen if the hon. member's proposal became law. Let it be observed, there would be in that case such an increased demand for slave-grown sugar to supply this country, that all expectation of inducing foreign states to emancipate their slaves would be gone. All this country had been doing for 35 years, both under Whig and Tory governments for that object, after expending 34 millions of money, would be totally lost. The attempt to put down that nefarious and detestable traffic would be destroyed by the operation of the amendment, which would make that traffic more horrible than ever, and give such an impetus to it, that no power on earth could put it down. Those who wished to carry out emancipation on the principles that were advocated at the period he had referred to, would vote for the proposition of the government; those who wished to perpetuate slavery in its most hideous forms would vote for the amendment of the hon. member.

Mr. RICARDO hoped the West Indian proprietors would see the necessity of yielding in time, that they would begin to find out that the ball was rolling, and that nothing that they could do would suffice to stop it, and that they would at length discover that their better course was to follow the example of the English manufactures to trust to their own ingenuity and their own resources, and at once give up the absurdity of protection and monopoly (hear, hear.) Capital so employed was like a house built upon sand, and all their protection and discriminating duties would not prevent it from falling. His advice to them, then, was, to yield gracefully, in a time of prosperity, that which would be forced from them at a period of adversity.

Sir G. CLERK.—When you come to consider the peculiar case of the West Indies I must say that I think they have, in their present situation, a strong claim upon this House (hear, hear.) The hon. member for Manchester entered into a statement of the expense of cultivating sugar in former times, and quoted the result of some prizes given for the cultivation of sugar upon a late occasion, showing that the expense of cultivating it in the West Indies was not so great as was alleged. But the hon. member forgot to inform the house that the account he quoted embraced only the expense of labour in the field. He must be perfectly aware, or if he is not I must say that his information is most erroneous, that that amount has nothing to do with the general expense of management; that in fact it contained no charge for the premises, for the capital expended, for work at the mill, or taxes being confined to the expenses connected with the land (hear, hear.) I believe that by continuing a moderate protection to the West Indian planters, who are producing an increased and increasing quantity, you will secure to the consumer a low price, while you will avoid inflicting any injury on existing interests, and avoid giving a stimulus to the continuance of slavery. The hon. member for Manchester stated that our imports have fallen off from the West Indies, while our exports have not decreased. It is perfectly clear, that if, as an immediate consequence of your legislation, the produce of these islands fell from 200,000 tons of sugar to 100,000 tons, that sufficiently accounts for your imports falling off, whilst those in the West Indies could not import many articles into the West Indies which were to be paid for by their own products; and it is only remarkable that the export of the manufactures of this country to the British West Indies has not fallen off in a great proportion. But I do trust, as the West Indies improve in their condition and are better supplied with labour, or as the emancipated negroes apply themselves more diligently to the cultivation of the estates, that we shall see a very great improvement in those islands, and, consequently, have an improved export trade there. The same reason has operated against the introduction of machinery to some extent. The hon. member for Cumberland will be surprised to hear that no attempt has been made to introduce machinery into the West Indies—that steam engines

have never been heard of there. (Hear, hear.) I rather think that 30 years ago, on passing through a large establishment at the other side of Westminster-bridge, I saw it full of steam-engines for the West Indies. But the want of capital has diminished the exertions that were formerly made in this respect. The hon. member for Dumfries spoke of the state of lethargy which arises from the enjoyment of a monopoly and the want of competition; but many of the West Indian proprietors have, out of their other capital, been sending out every improvement in machinery in the forlorn hope that some of these improvements would lead to profit. The hon. member said to the West Indian proprietors—"You are absentees, and don't know what is going on." I should think it is just as likely that the hon. member for Cumberland will take care that his West Indian estate is properly managed as that the railway directors living in Liverpool and Manchester will take care that the railway there is properly managed.

Mr. VILLIERS.—The course adopted by the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. James) was, in his opinion, somewhat ingenious. That hon. member saw that he had no case for argument, and he therefore changed the issue, and introduced the question of slavery. Now, he (Mr. Villiers) contended that that question was not raised by the present motion. The only question raised by the motion of his hon. friend was this—why put a protecting duty of 10s. on East and West India sugar against the sugar of Java and Manilla, which was produced by free labour? What then had the question of slavery to do with the matter? But the hon. member for Cumberland called upon them to think of the horrors of slavery, and appealed to their feelings of humanity. Now, how could the humane and generous feelings of the hon. member be violated by the admission of Java and Manilla sugar, the produce of free labour, at the same rate of duty with our colonial sugar; and how could he, on this ground, object to the present motion? If that hon. member, and those who advanced the same views, were sincere, they ought to give all the encouragement in their power to the importation of sugar produced by free labour, and with that object support the motion of his hon. friend. The hon. member for Cumberland, and the opponents of slavery, said, "We want to show the world that free labour is better and more economical than slave labour, and to give such encouragement to the produce of free labour as may lead to the abolition of the slave trade." Then why not open our markets to all sugar produced by free labour? The right hon. baronet opposite (Sir G. Clerk) had distinctly attributed the present situation of the West India planters to the abolition of slavery. But the right hon. gentleman had no pretext for that statement; for, with slavery or without slavery, the planters had always complained of suffering and distress. The right hon. bart. the First Lord of the Treasury had stated in that house, that the experiment of the abolition of slavery had answered in a more striking manner than any great experiment ever made; that the slaves seemed to be fitted for freedom, that they were good workmen, and did not object to work for wages. How was it, then, that the existing distress had been occasioned by slave emancipation? They knew that some of the West India islands had been in a very flourishing condition ever since the abolition of slavery,—Barbadoes, for instance, where the people worked for low wages, and great prosperity existed. He (Mr. Villiers) was of opinion that in many cases the most dishonest practices were resorted to by agents in the West India islands in the absence of the proprietors. He understood it was no uncommon thing for those agents and attorneys to represent to the proprietors in this country that their estates were in such a condition, that unless money was sent out for their cultivation they must be abandoned; and cases had occurred in which, under such circumstances, gentlemen residing here had abandoned their estates, which had been purchased by the agents or their friends (hear, hear). Shortly after the debate which took place on this subject last session, he (Mr. Villiers) asked a gentleman well conversant with the condition of the West India colonies, whether the statements then made on that (the Opposition) side of the house to prove the evils of protection were well founded. That gentleman replied, "My family has been connected with the island of Jamaica for upwards of 100 years, and in consequence of representations made to me, I went out to that colony that I might ascertain the real state of affairs; and I can give you no rule but this—that you must not believe one syllable you hear stated in the house on the part of the proprietors ('hear, hear,' laughter, and a cry of "Name.") I could scarcely believe my eyes when I got there. Every species of waste was carried on to a shameful extent." His informant stated also that in no sugar-producing country on the face of the globe was that article cultivated and prepared in so barbarous a manner; "but," he added, "the best proof I can give you that I don't despair of the eventual prosperity of those islands is that I purchased land instead of abandoning it" (hear, hear). That individual was the brother of a gentleman at the head of a great mercantile establishment in this metropolis, and whose family had been connected with Jamaica for upwards of a century.

Mr. P. W. MILES believed it to be a fact, that the West India body had suffered very severe distress for a long time past; that they had employed their capital without receiving a return, and that some of them had been brought to the very verge of ruin. The hon. gentleman had stated, that the proposal for a 14s. duty on Muscovado sugar was offering a direct premium on slovenly manufacture. On the contrary, he (Mr. Miles) believed that it would be found much more advantageous to the West India proprietor to send home sugar of the higher duty rather than the coarse Muscovado. (Hear, hear.) During the last session of Parliament an important measure had been passed for the admission of Hill Coolie labourers into the West Indies. That measure he believed to be of great advantage to the West Indies, and he thought that in all probability it would succeed. The Sheriff of Demerara, in a report to the governor, had stated that the Hill Coolies worked better than the negroes; and in that case, if the proposal should succeed, he (Mr. Miles) did not see why the West India colonies should not be able to send a sufficient quantity of sugar to supply this country, and that at as cheap a price as sugar the produce of slave labour. They were, of course, anxious to induce foreign countries to abandon the employment of slaves; and he did not hesitate to say that the greatest inducement they could hold out to foreigners would be to prove to them that free labour was cheaper than slave labour; and he did believe that the free labourer, in the exercise of his free will and power, would work so much better and produce so much

more than the slave, that in the end there would be little difference whether they employed the one or the other. He hoped, however, when he spoke in that manner, that the house would not do him, or those whom he represented, the injustice to suppose that they thought of grinding the poor free negro down to a state worse than that of slavery. All they wanted was to obtain a fair day's work for a fair day's wages. By showing the negroes that the proprietors were not wholly dependent upon them for labour, and by stimulating them to exert themselves, he expected to derive a great advantage from the Hill Coolie immigration. (Hear.) I am persuaded that this measure will altogether disappoint the West India proprietors. Any gentleman who has taken pains to make himself acquainted with the actual condition of the West Indies cannot be ignorant that what is now complained of is the competition with the small supply of labour there. The competition of the planters among themselves raises wages so high, that the negroes by working only a comparatively small portion of the day are enabled to supply themselves with all those articles of consumption to which they have been accustomed. Of course, like men in every clime and country, they do not like work for work's sake (hear.) When they can provide themselves with those necessities and comforts and luxuries to which they have been used, of course they will labour no more; and we find that whatever the price of sugar is, the planters will outbid each other so much and so far as that price will enable them, in giving wages to the labourer, in order to take labour away from each other. This is the necessary effect of a non-supply of labour in the market (hear, hear.) Then what will happen if you, by a reduction of duty, greatly raise the price of sugar, and thereby increase the competition of the planters among themselves? My conviction is, that the result will be that the competition which already exists will become more intense; your wishes will not be realized, and the negroes in consequence will be able to supply themselves with all they want, with even a smaller amount of labour than they now give. The effect of your measures will be rather to diminish than increase the supply of colonial sugar, and to place the West India proprietors in a worse situation, as compared with the East Indies than they are in at present. The hon. member who last spoke (Mr. Miles) candidly admitted that up to a very late period the system of colonial cultivation was one of reckless extravagance. He said that under the pressure of necessity considerable improvement had taken place. I believe it; and I believe that under the pressure of further necessity still greater improvements would be the result (hear, hear). I am convinced, sir, that in the end the change now proposed would be highly beneficial to our colonies. It would be beneficial, because it would stimulate all those improvements which are so much required; it would make the colonial legislatures exert themselves to do what depends upon them. With the stimulus of personal interest, I have not the least doubt that cultivation and manufacture would both be improved to the greatest degree (cheers). Besides that, you must remember that in a few years you will have the advantage—every day it is coming into operation—of fast rising into manhood a peasantry not educated under the degrading influence of slavery, but enlightened by education (cheers). I believe, sir, that more has been done towards improvement within the half-dozen years since slavery was really abolished in your own colonies than even during the two preceding centuries (hear). If I am well informed, in some of your colonies, and particularly in those in which there are resident proprietors—in Antigua and in Barbadoes more especially—considerable improvement is going on (cheers). Taking that improvement into consideration—taking into consideration the further improvements which will no doubt be made, and the stimulus which they will naturally give to competition—looking at all these things, I feel perfectly persuaded that in a few years you will find that free labour will be far cheaper than slave labour, and that the rich regions of Demerara, Trinidad, and Jamaica, will be able not only to drive the produce of slave labour out of your own markets, but to drive it out of the market of Europe and out of the market of the world (cheers), and, by doing so, abolish not only the slave-trade but slavery (continued cheers). Sir, these are the great results to which, I believe, you may confidently look, if you have sufficient faith in the truth of great principles; if you have sufficient reliance on the certain triumph of what is right and good; and if the rulers of this country will venture to adopt an enlarged and enlightened policy on this subject, instead of shrinking from what may be the temporary difficulty and the inconvenience of the change (cheers). I am not prepared to deny that for a time encouragement might be given to the foreign slave trade (an ironical cry of "hear," from the ministerial side). Sir, I am perfectly prepared for that sneer from the other side; but I can assure the hon. gentleman that it does not at all shake my confidence in the opinions to which I have given expression (hear). Any temporary evil that might arise from the adoption of the principles I recommend would, in my opinion, be of minor importance, when you take into consideration the great object sought to be achieved (hear). Sir, if with a view to put down not only slavery but the slave-trade, if trusting to the truth of certain principles which you have partly adopted, that free labour is better than slave labour, you are prepared to commit your colonies—I ought to say unincumbered by protecting duties—to a struggle in your market with the produce of slave labour; if, acting on the conviction that no real good can arise without steadily pursuing some principle, you venture to get rid of the inconvenience of your present system, and to admit slave-grown sugar as you admit slave grown cotton, slave-grown tobacco, and slave-grown coffee, I say you would, notwithstanding some temporary inconvenience, in the end gain a great victory to the cause of humanity (hear, hear). And I feel confident that in the struggle that may ensue the produce of free labour will triumph over the produce of slave labour, and thus an end would be put to the existing system.

Mr. GLADSTONE.—I wish heartily that it were possible that equality, or something like equality, could be established between the native and the foreign productions (hear, hear). Such an equality cannot be established, and I do believe that the adoption of the proposition of the hon. member for Manchester would bring down ruin on a numerous class of persons at home, and carry dismay into the colonies. I grant you that the extreme dearness of production in the West Indies forms the difficulty of this question. I admit that it would be unfair to make a demand on the people of this country as an encouragement to the grower, if no reason existed for such a demand being made. But reasons exist for such

a demand. What are the causes of the dearness of production in the West Indies? There has been a passion for saying that scarcity of labour has been a cause of the dearness of production. That, in my opinion, was not the sole cause, but one of the most important causes. The scarcity of proprietors has been another great cause—I mean the scarcity of resident-proprietors. The question will then naturally be asked of the West Indian proprietors—Why do you not become residents? or, failing to become residents, why do you not place in the care of your estates some near connexions of your own, who would have a direct interest in the well-being of the labourers, and in the productiveness of the estate? or why not hand over your estates to eligible tenants, or part with them to persons who will reside in the colony? Those questions are much easier asked than answered. Surely hon. members must see that arrangements so extensive could not be effected in periods of time that could be reckoned by months or years. Then, with regard to the other cause, respecting which so much has been said, namely, the scarcity of labour. I rather imagine the house will agree with me that that scarcity does not proceed from any single act or from any individual cause. No man can shut his eyes to the fact that the Parliament of this country has been the cause of making labour scarce. The state of the West Indies cannot be considered in the same light as it must have been viewed before the abolition of slavery. Labour was then cheap—labour is now dear; and those who were the cause of this effect must not at present refuse to bear their proper share of the consequences of their own acts. There is a severe and heavy pressure upon the West Indian interest; but I do say that, in the mode by which we are endeavouring to lower the premium upon the production of West Indian sugar, we are giving every motive to the practice of economy—every motive to the spirited and enterprising employment of capital—every motive for the judicious and effective employment of machinery with a view to the production of a better and a cheaper article. The noble lord admits that his measure would produce some temporary inconvenience—some fleeting evil; that it would, in short, give some encouragement to the slave trade. Does any one doubt that this would give a fatal shock to the West India interest? Wherever we are to have trade, let us take care to have it where there is no risk; let us have it where there are natural supplies of raw material, where there is a judicious employment of machinery and active employment of capital. But these principles of legislation cannot be without reserve applied to our West India colonies, for, with reference to their produce, they come before us with a special plea, for they say, with perfect truth and justice, that they have to compete with causes of which you are the creators; that non-residence prevents a wise economy—prevents an employment of the best methods of cultivation; that it produces scarcity of labour; and that the employment of negro labour has been rendered much more expensive and less productive by the abolition of slavery (hear, hear).

Mr. CORDEN said,—I know that the right hon. baronet and his friends laid claim to the credit of being supported by Sir F. Buxton and the anti-slavery party on the ground that these sugar duties had a tendency to prevent the slave trade. Now, that is quite a delusion. There is no class of men for whom I entertain a higher respect than I do for those who have laboured to sustain the anti-slavery principle; but I tell you that the men who fought that battle are now in the ranks of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and this, likewise, I will say, that they, in common with others out of doors, regard you as hypocrites. Remember those whom the anti-slavery party have sent into this house—the members for Manchester, the member for Leeds, the member for Bath. Now, I ask the member for Bath, if the anti-slavery party are anxious to keep up this duty? On the contrary, I believe they repudiate the sugar tax. And what do foreigners say? Mr. Calhoun says the same, so does the legislature of Brazil, and those at Madrid and at Cuba—they all say you are hypocrites. Several hon. members have assumed that you cannot carry on the sugar business in competition with slave labour; and the hon. member for Cumberland asked, how would the manufacturers like to carry on their manufactures in competition with people who paid no wages for labour—that is to say with people who stole their workmen and paid them nothing? I tell the hon. member at once, that I desire to have no other competitors (hear, hear). Let my workmen have none other but gangs of slaves to compete with, and I undertake to say that they would have the monopoly of the trade of the world (cheers). Was there ever a more monstrous absurdity than to suppose that a slave community can possibly compete with a nation of freemen? (cheers.) Why, it is notorious that slavery precludes those economical arrangements on which cheapness in production depend (hear, hear). What does slavery involve?—the absence of independent labour, and that implies that you must keep in your own establishment a sufficient number of workmen of every kind necessary for performing every thing that is in any way connected with your business. If you are a sugar merchant, you must keep up gangs of coopers, and gangs of wagoners, &c.; and these you must maintain constantly for the 12 months, although you may only need them for a limited period of the year. It is a state of society like this which precludes the division of labour, and retards all advance in science, and all improvement (hear, hear). The assumption which has pervaded the speeches of all those who oppose the motion of the hon. member for Manchester, is this,—that the equalization of the sugar duties would bring ruin on the colonies. This is a most audacious fallacy, and is disproved in the case of Manilla and Java sugar; for if those countries sell their sugar in Holland and in England in opposition to Brazil sugar: why should not your own colonies be also able to sell their sugar against a similar competition?—(hear, hear.) The right hon. gentleman on the Treasury bench, the hon. member near him, and the hon. member for Bristol, came before that house in *formid pauperis*. They are pleading for relief, in order to be able to carry on their own business. I submit that before we dole out the public money to these gentlemen, we should investigate their accounts (hear, hear). Let us see how they have carried on their business. Nothing is more wasteful, extravagant, or improvident than the system of mismanagement in the West Indian colonies (hear, hear). I have heard the fault attributed to the workmen, but I believe that they are not to blame. It rests with the masters.

Mr. CARDWELL said it was all very fine for hon. gentlemen and for noble lords to describe to the West Indians, in glowing terms, the benefits of free labour. He hoped that as the world grew older, free labour would

beat slave labour out of the market. It was all very well to say that slavery was the bane of the West Indies. There was no doubt of it. But who established slavery? It was all very well to say, that if slavery had been abolished, that abolition had produced no evil. Did not hon. gentlemen opposite know that there had been experienced a falling off in the exports from the West Indies during the period immediately succeeding the abolition of slavery? Then the West Indians contended that we had been the cause of this; the West Indians might say, "Give us fair play, re-enact slavery, re-establish the slave trade, give us back our advantages, and we will compete with Cuba or any other country." (A cry of "The 17,000,000!" from an Opposition member.) If they were put into the condition in which they were before what they called their advantages were removed, they would not grudge the repayment of the 17,000,000. If they applied the free-trade principle, then let them be put under the same circumstances as those with whom they had to compete; that would be acting on a fair free-trade principle. But we placed them under disadvantages, first, by imposing on them slavery, and then by requiring the abolition of slavery; and now hon. members called for the application of the free-trade principles, and required those who bore these special burdens to run an equal race with those who were unladen. It was said—and here was the great argument against the proposition of the hon. member for Manchester—"only equalize your duties, and you will have a permanent settlement, and capital will flow into your colonies which will be of great advantage." It might be so, but then it might happen, that by this equalization it would be discovered they had greatly increased the slave-trade; and then might be again raised the anti-slavery cry from the very gentlemen who now cried out for cheap sugar (hear, hear).

Mr. BRIGHT said, The only pretext set up for protection as regarded the West Indies was the price and scarcity of labour there. This plea, at least, could not apply to the Mauritius, where there was as great an abundance of labour as in Dorsetshire; and with respect to the East Indies they had the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year, that there was no country in the world whose soil, climate, and population gave it so great an advantage in the growth and production of sugar as the East Indies. So that the pretext of deficiency of labour could not apply there. The strongest argument he had heard adduced on the question was that which arose out of the reduced cultivation of the produce of the West India islands, notwithstanding all the protection they had enjoyed. This had been going on for many years past. But this system of protection not only thus acted as a sort of opiate to the West India gentlemen; it also converted them into everlasting grumblers.

After a few words from the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER and Lord SANDON,

The house divided,—

For Mr. Gibson's amendment	84
Against it	211
Majority	— 127

TUESDAY, February 25.

EMIGRATION OF FREED NEGROES TO THE WEST INDIES AND THE MAURITIUS.

Sir R. H. INGLIS said his object was to urge the Government respectfully, but very earnestly, to reconsider the proclamation which the Governor of Sierra Leone issued on the 12th of June, last year, on the subject of the negro population of that colony. The question involved was whether the captured and liberated Africans should be allowed to remain at Sierra Leone, or to migrate to the West Indies. He had supposed, when the system was first adopted, that those persons would be allowed to exercise their own discretion, but it was clear from the nature of the case, that to a large number the term could not apply. It appeared that a very large number of the liberated slaves that were landed at Sierra Leone were young persons. Mr. Hill, in his extremely interesting work stated that out of the 440 negroes forming the cargo of the slave ship, on board which he took his passage, 230 were boys. Under such circumstances it was obvious that a large portion of the persons affected did not possess sufficient discretion to know exactly what they were about when they were called upon to say whether or not they would migrate to the West Indian colonies. The Governor of Sierra Leone required that all captured negroes in Sierra Leone, as soon as liberated, under the judgment of the competent tribunal, should be called upon to decide at once as to whether they would remain in the colony or migrate to the West Indies. It was a perfect mockery to call such an option a freedom of choice, as regarded the newly-landed African man; but how much more so with respect to children! In the proclamation which was issued by Governor Fergusson, founded on the letter of Lord Stanley, it is directed that the liberated Africans should be informed, immediately on the adjudication of their freedom, that if they continued to reside in that colony they must provide for themselves; but that if they were willing to emigrate to the West Indies, provision would be made for their support in the meantime. This, however, was found by the governor who issued the proclamation, to be too monstrous to be enforced, as there was no exception made as to age or sex, for it included within its operation children of the youngest years as well as the full-grown negro. When this was intimated to the governor he liberated from the operation children under nine years of age. Only consider the situation of this liberated negro, probably ignorant of the language of those about him, and having no trade or means of getting employment in agriculture; and, having no other resource in the colony, he was called on immediately to decide whether he would starve in the colony itself, or become a forced labourer by removal to the West Indies. He denied the right of the governor of the colony thus to fetter the judgment and discretion of the negroes. Among other proceedings, an agent of the Government visited some of the schools in Sierra Leone, and read the order of the governor with respect to emigration to the West Indies, and invited any of those in the school who felt disposed to do so to give in their names; in consequence of this about 100 boys and girls embarked last July for Jamaica. He had no objection to every facility being afforded to free egress into our West India colonies, and that those who were really free should have every facility afforded them to emigrate from England, Germany,

or Africa; but he could not help regarding this plan of the Government as a mere mockery of a free emigration, and that it was very like a compulsory system of labour. He (Sir R. Inglis) did not wish to throw any impediment in the way of any one desirous of emigrating to the West Indies; but he wished Government to return to the course of proceeding which formerly existed in Sierra Leone as regarded provision being made for the maintenance of the liberated Africans. If there was any security that there could be a real *bond fide* freedom of will on the part of those liberated negroes, when they were asked to emigrate, he should not complain; but this was obviously not the case. He, therefore, urged very earnestly the reconsideration of this subject. In the first instance, an interval of six months was allowed between the adjudication in the case of a liberated negro, and his being called on to say whether or not he was willing to proceed as an emigrant to the West Indies. This period was afterwards reduced to one month, and afterwards was reduced to one week, and subsequently by Governor Fergusson it was ordered that they should at once and without delay decide whether or not they would proceed there. Again, Lord Stanley in the first instance, when he sanctioned this species of emigration to the West Indies, directed that in every case a certain proportion between the sexes should be preserved on board of each vessel conveying emigrants from Sierra Leone to the West Indies, and that proportion was that out of every number shipped, at least, one-third should be females. In the first instance it was ordered that the proportion between the sexes should be one-half, but it was found that it was impossible under the circumstances of the colony to adhere to this rule. It was, no doubt, the intention of the noble lord at the head of the colonial department that something like an equal proportion between the sexes should be preserved in this description of emigration. This requirement was subsequently not enforced, for he found it stated in minute of council in Sierra Leone, that the restriction requiring a certain proportion of females to accompany each shipment of emigrants might with safety, in a moral point of view, be altogether abolished; the consequence was that while cargoes of males could be taken from Sierra Leone just the same as slaves were conveyed from the Gold Coast 40 years ago. He knew that false statements had been made in foreign countries as to the mode in which this emigration was carried on, and that it was alleged to be only slavery in disguise. Now, although he would not refrain from doing what he considered to be right because his neighbour thought it to be wrong, yet they should not forget that the highest authority asserted, "that they should not do good in such a way that it should be spoken evil of." He conceived, therefore, that they should so regulate their acts as not to allow any one to speak ill of them. Many observations had been recently made in the French chambers on this subject, which must be familiar to honourable gentlemen. The house was well aware with how much jealousy the people of France regarded our proceedings with respect to emigration to our colonies, and they not merely watched our proceedings relative to the right of search, but also to the cultivation of sugar in our colonies by what we called free labour from Asia and Africa, but which they called slave labour. Again, in Spain he perceived that a similar feeling of jealousy had manifested itself on this subject, as would be seen from the slave-trade papers before the house. In one of them he found a communication from the Spanish minister Gonzalez to Mr. Aston, in which he stated that it was known that thousands of negroes had been indiscriminately shipped from Sierra Leone to Jamaica. Although this statement was much exaggerated, they could not deny that they had encouraged emigration from Sierra Leone to the West Indies. It appeared, also, from a paper laid before the Cortes of Spain during the last month, that it was stated that they had a perfect right to encourage the immigration of free labourers from Africa into their American colonies. It appeared therefore to him, if this plan was to be adopted, that there was nothing to prevent the slave-trade being carried on under the allegation that the slave-ships were only carrying free labourers on board to their own colonies. There was too much reason to believe that under this change of name the slave-trade would still exist most extensively. He now came to another part of the subject, with respect to which he conceived there were great grounds of suspicion. He alluded to the proceedings on the eastern coast of Africa to supply the Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope. In the Mauritius he understood that an ordinance had been issued, a copy of which he understood was in this country, but which he had not seen, in which a regular bounty was offered on the importation of negroes from the eastern coast of Africa to the Mauritius, namely, of 5*l.* for each male, and 6*l.* 10*s.* for every female. In the slave papers marked A, which were laid before the house last year, there was a long account of the manner in which the negroes were induced to emigrate, and the manner in which the voyage was carried on. The agents were told that the negroes were to be addressed in a kind and insinuating tone, so as to induce them to remove to the coast of Africa; and they were to be promised plenty of farina and other food. It was probable that their condition might be improved; but the greatest caution and control ought to be exercised in sanctioning these proceedings. That which was true with respect to the western coast of Africa took place, in his belief, wherever there was a demand for slaves. The native kings had an absolute command over the liberties of their subjects. When they could find their own subjects in sufficient numbers, they were ready to sell them to the first comer who applied for them; and when they could not, they would make an inroad into the territory of some neighbouring state, and sell all the captives they succeeded in catching. He, therefore, thought it right to call the attention of the Government to the subject, and he would ask them to follow not merely the example of their predecessors, but the dictates of their own judgment in acting upon it. The Marquis of Normanby declared that no precaution which had been or could be devised could prevent discredit being brought on such a system, and Lord John Russell said "he was not prepared to countenance a measure which might lead to loss of life on the one hand or to a new state of slavery on the other" [hear hear]. Such were the sentiments of the distinguished individuals to whom he alluded on the mitigated system of slavery to which he wished to call the attention of the Government, and he trusted they would not be lost sight of on the present occasion. He felt that notwithstanding the claims of their fellow-subjects in the West Indies to every consideration that could consistently be given to them,



he was not at liberty to weigh the interests of the West India proprietor against the sufferings and the blood of the African. He concluded by moving for certain papers.

Mr. G. W. HOPE was sorry that he felt obliged to protest against the concluding portion of his hon. friend's observations, in which he said that he could not weigh the interests of the West India proprietors against the blood of the African. If he (Mr. Hope) could look upon the matter in the light represented, and as being a sacrifice of the blood and the interests of the natives of Africa; as a performing of evil, in order that benefits might be conferred on a third party, and as a breach of the contracts entered into by this country, then he should be sorry indeed to support any such course as that which had been adopted by Government; but he was prepared to contend that the very reverse of all that was the case, and that so far from its being any breach of faith on the part of this country towards the negroes, it was actually the most effectual and the most beneficial mode by which the engagements entered into by England to protect and support them could be carried into effect (hear, hear). His honourable friend referred, as the point from which he started, to the obligations entered into by this country in 1807, to provide for the liberated negroes, but the question which the Government had to consider was, whether they would best carry out these obligation, by continuing the whole system, or by adopting some new regulations which, while it would prove, perhaps, beneficial to others, would be also more conducive to the welfare and prosperity of the Africans themselves. His honourable friend referred to the proclamation issued by the governor of Sierra Leone, and contended that the inevitable result of that order was, that Africans arriving in that colony in a state of utter debility, and incapable of labouring, were left no alternative between immediate re-embarkation for the West Indies, or utter destitution. Now, the grounds on which the proclamation had been issued were undoubtedly to encourage emigration to the West Indies when an opportunity offered, and to warn negroes of the intentions of Government towards them, should they refuse to proceed there; but he denied that those intentions, as expressed in the proclamation, were such as to warrant the harsh construction which his honourable friend had put upon them. The proclamation was intended to be carried out in a spirit of equity, and in that spirit he would venture to say it had been acted upon. There was but one case which had been particularly brought before the country, and that was the case of the 180 liberated persons of colour, to which his honourable friend had referred; but these men had not been at once turned out, but had over and over again been solicited to take advantage of the opportunities which were presented to them of emigrating, which they had as often refused. His hon. friend dwelt particularly on the case of children. He said that the option held out to those unfortunate beings was a mockery when applied to the case of grown persons, but it was much worse when applied to children. His hon. friend had referred to children of nine years of age being exempt, but he appeared to have forgotten at what an early age persons in those warm climates arrived at maturity (hear, hear). But his honourable friend referred to the case of children in the schools at Sierra Leone. He stated that an agent had been sent to them, giving them the option to emigrate to the West Indies, or to be turned adrift, and that 100 of them in consequence emigrated to Jamaica. It would, he had no doubt, be a satisfaction to his honourable friend to trace the fortunes of those children subsequent to their departure for the West Indies. It was true that they had been conveyed to Jamaica, but when he came to speak of the comparative advantages of Sierra Leone and that island, he was satisfied the house would agree with him, that the change which had taken place in the circumstances of those children was most fortunate for themselves. On their arrival in Jamaica they were taken charge of by the government, and the greatest pains were employed to select good and indulgent masters for them. These masters had been specially contracted with in each case, and a portion of the agreement, which they were obliged to sign, was in these words—"And the said A. B. further agrees that the aforesaid persons hired out to him shall attend a regular school, and receive instruction during three years from the date hereof; and he also engages that the said persons shall be taken by a proper person to church on every Sabbath-day; and that he shall use every means in his power to provide them with moral and religious instruction" (hear, hear). Now, it was on the treatment of these children that his hon. friend had especially relied, and he asked whether the result did not show that their welfare had been properly attended to (hear, hear). But his hon. friend appeared to imagine that Africans had no option between emigrating and being reduced to a state of utter destitution; but he believed that interested parties in Sierra Leone were in the practice of making that option for them (hear, hear, hear). He maintained that the option was complete, and was not, as had been alleged, a mere delusion. There had been lately inquiries on the part of the West India colonies, as to the causes which stood in the way of an extended emigration to their ports, and the result of these inquiries would be laid before the house. In the meantime he might be permitted to refer to these inquiries so far as to observe that the experience of all those colonies tended to the same point. Nothing could be stronger than the statement which the government had received from the governor of Sierra Leone, or as to the wretched condition of the liberated Africans in that colony. They were picked up by others who had previously settled there, and obliged to do all the labour of the colony without any remuneration whatever. The question for the house to decide then was, whether it would be better for those poor creatures to be sent to the West Indies, or to continue at Sierra Leone. His hon. friend had dwelt on the difference in the proportion of the two sexes observable at Sierra Leone; but was he not aware that all the returns of births in the West India colonies showed that a much larger proportion of females were born than of males among the black population? In Demerara there was an excess of 2,000 females in a population of 18,000, and the other colonies showed similar results. His hon. friend had referred to an ordonnance lately issued by the governor of the Mauritius, but that document had only arrived on that morning, and all its provisions had not yet been examined; but of this his hon. friend might rest assured, that no ordonnance would be suffered which would allow the slightest risk of affording an encouragement to the slave-trade (hear, hear). He could also tell his hon. friend, that the former ordonnance of 1842, to which he had referred, had been disallowed (hear, hear, hear). His hon.

friend had referred to a note presented to the British government by the government of Spain, and his hon. friend had observed, with reference to that subject, that their motives were liable to misconstruction; but, if he would take the trouble of referring to the letter of Mr. Jerminham to Senor Frias, at page 16 of the correspondence with Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, relative to the slave-trade, published in 1843, he would find the most complete and decisive answer that could possibly be expected or required on that matter. There was but one other point to which he thought it necessary to refer. His hon. friend said, that by promoting emigration to the West Indies, they would be retarding the civilization of Africa. He was of a contrary opinion; for he thought it was from the West Indies and the New World that they should look for the civilization of Africa. It was well known that they could only civilize the natives of Africa by bringing them in contact with other civilized persons, and this could be done effectually only in the West Indies (hear, hear).

Mr. HURT was convinced the government would pursue boldly the course it had adopted. If they would turn a deaf ear to the mischievous meddlers at Exeter-hall, it would promote the cause of the negro and of colonial improvement to an immense extent. By allowing and encouraging the importation of emancipated labour into our West India colonies, that slavery, which had hitherto resisted all our efforts to suppress it, would be entirely overthrown by the simple result of our being able to undersell the employers of slaves (hear, hear). They had tried the system advocated by the trading philanthropists of Exeter-hall quite long enough; far too long for the West India growers, and for the great cause of emancipation and of colonial improvement (hear, hear).

Mr. JOHN S. WORTLEY said, hon. gentlemen seemed somewhat to have misinterpreted the hon. baronet the member for Oxford. What that hon. baronet designed by his motion was simply to ascertain whether certain rumoured changes, calculated in his opinion to prevent the satisfactory carrying out of the plan for transmitting free coloured labourers from Sierra Leone to the West Indies, had or had not been introduced (hear, hear). So long since as March 1841, a dispatch of Lord J. Russell, then Secretary of State, gave the emancipated negroes of Sierra Leone three alternatives,—that of proceeding to the West Indies as a free labourer—that of remaining in the colony to support himself—and that of leaving it on any other destination he might prefer. But an interval of three months would be given to the negro before he would be required to make up his mind in either case, during which period he was of course to be supported. If his option were made at once to depart to the West Indies, still six weeks were to be allowed him before he was required to proceed there: afterwards, this period, being found inconvenient, was lessened; and after the lapse of four weeks the negro was to be at liberty to remove. What his hon. friend wanted to know was, how far these regulations had been acted upon, modified, or departed from.

After some observations from Mr. Aglionby, Lord Sandon, Mr. Man- gles, Sir T. D. Acland, and Mr. Plumptre,

Sir R. H. INGLIS replied; and the motion was agreed to.

WEDNESDAY, February 26.

SUGAR DUTIES.

On the order of the day being moved for going into a committee of ways and means,

Mr. MILNER GIBSON begged to offer a short explanation of part of the statement he made on the sugar duties question a few nights since. As it had been supposed that, in his estimate of the cost of producing a hundred weight of sugar, he had not included all the expenses, he begged to say that, in his estimate, he had included salaries, wages, taxes, &c. (Hear, hear.)

Lord JOHN RUSSELL then rose and said, I consider the distinction between foreign free labour grown sugar and slave labour grown sugar illusory, because, in regard to other articles of slave produce, you have no objection to admit them into this country. You take coffee, tobacco, and cotton, which are the produce of slave labour, as readily as those articles which are the produce of free labour. But if this distinction of the two growths could be kept up, and if the custom-house regulations were so accurately observed that none but free labour sugar was admitted, yet even then you would do nothing more than this—you would abstract from the markets of the world a certain quantity of free labour sugar, which would be supplied by slave labour sugar, therefore you would be as much encouraging slave labour sugar as if you were to admit it directly into this country. But in the next place there is this difficulty, that you cannot confine your consumption to free labour sugar. You have certain treaties with foreign countries whose produce you are bound to admit upon the same terms as that coming from the most favoured nations. You therefore cannot, consistently with those treaties, exclude sugar which is the produce of those countries. A fact has recently occurred showing the practical operation of this difficulty. A small quantity of sugar has been admitted into this country from Venezuela, owing to the treaty existing between England and that state, which sugar was the produce of slave labour. I have read various statements in regard to this. Some say it has been recognised as sugar imported into Venezuela from Porto Rico, others from Surinam, and others from Brazil; but all agreed that it was not Venezuela sugar, but sugar which, by some fraud or other, was imported into this country as Venezuela sugar. But this has happened so early that it has preceded any of those importations for the sake of which you have altered your law. (Hear, hear) If this be the case, what may you expect if, for the whole next ten years, for instance, you preserve this distinction? What can you expect but this, that ingenious persons will contrive a scheme by which they will evade your regulations; and that sugar the produce of Brazil and Cuba will be sent to the ports of Venezuela, wherethey may find a consul not suspicious, and the custom-house authority open to bribery. (Hear, hear). I consider it rather aggravates than otherwise the protection which is at present given to the colonies. In whichever way you view it, there can be no doubt that the reduction of 11s. 2d. will benefit the consumer to the extent only of about one half, and the other half will go to the exclusive benefit of the planter, (hear, hear). It has been most truly stated by Mr. Deacon Hume and others, that this is neither more nor less than a tax upon the people of this country to the

extent of 5s. or 6s., for the sole benefit of the West India planters. It is as if you were to make the whole of the duties equal, and reduce that duty to 8s., and then pay the full sum so received to the West India planters, and not one farthing into the exchequer. It is, in fact, paying no less a sum than 1,100,000*l.* a year to the planters out of the exchequer. It is at present a tax divided between the exchequer and the West India planters, one part of it going to the revenue, the other being for the benefit of the planters. But then it is said that you must give this great protection on account of the state of the West Indies and the abolition of slavery. I could not vote for my honourable friend the member for Manchester the other night, because I think the West Indies have a very considerable claim upon us, owing to the recent abolition of slavery. I think the recent abolition of that mode of compulsory labour makes it advisable either to have a gradual equalization of duty, or to have what is much the same thing—a protecting duty for a short time for the benefit of the planters. But let us observe what is the state of the West Indies in consequence of this very great advantage given to them. The West India labourers have had the advantage of a great state of prosperity ever since the passing of the act of emancipation. During the last year that state of prosperity was diminished, in so far as wages decreased, being, I believe, not more than 1*s.* a day, or, at the most, about 7*s.* per week. Now, how has it been proposed to alter this state of affairs? What has taken place in the West Indies has been this: there have been great plans for immigration, and for the admission of a great number of labourers into the West Indies, that there might be a sufficiency of labour to supply sugar to this country. But the way in which that scheme has operated has been this. Taxes have been imposed under this immigration ordinance, which have borne with great severity on the labourers. In proof of this, I hold in my hand a letter from a person who is a most remarkable man, who took an active part in the colonies upon the subject of slavery, and who now has a most extraordinary influence over the minds of a great part of the population of Jamaica. The person to whom I allude is Mr. Knibb, the Baptist missionary. This letter was dated December 23, 1844. Mr. Knibb says, "I do not believe that there is a labouring population on the face of the earth who have so patiently borne a reduction of wages as they have; and this, too, connected with an increased price of provisions, by a cruel and abominable tax on the necessities of life, imposed for the avowed purpose of raising money to increase the number of labourers, and thereby still further to curtail their comforts, and still further to reduce their wages." Now, this proves that the plans you propose, though they may have the effect of giving so large an amount as a million or upwards to the planters, will not have the effect of increasing the comfort or happiness of the peasantry of the West Indies. The admission of labourers from Africa to the West Indies, if conducted under regulations, and allowed to take place in small numbers, would be for the advantage both of the West Indies and of Africa. I have recorded that opinion, and I still believe both that the civilisation of Africa would be promoted by persons going from Africa to the West Indies, and that the general prosperity of the West Indies would be improved by that plan. But I own I look with very great dread to the scheme proposed for taking a great number of people from Africa to the West Indies. If you are now to introduce vast numbers of Africans from the shores of Africa, if you were to take them from places where they are still in a state of barbarism, and were to transplant them by wholesale to the West Indies, and turn them at once to labour, I cannot but foresee that, in no long course of time, you would have a population whom it would be very difficult to bring into that state of civilisation which your present negro population of the West Indies are in. And yet that is the attempt you are now making. It is an attempt I hardly think will succeed, because the great cost of carrying labourers from Africa to the West Indies is very much against it. But still the attempt is making in this way, by making large loans in Trinidad and Demerara, and taxing the people, and especially taxing the admission of their food, for the purpose of raising means to bring great numbers of people from Africa to the West Indies. I think it would endanger the future condition of the West India colonies, making it doubtful some twenty years hence—when we consider the immense numerical superiority of the black population over the white—whether the colonies may not become the scene of some most frightful convulsion. And, be it observed, all this is done to keep up a system which is quite contrary to your own general principles with regard to free trade; and it is all done at a very great expense, in order to produce an artificial price of sugar in this country, and thereby to promote, as you say, the prosperity of the West Indies. I confess it appears to me that the result must be very dangerous, and may be fatal in the end to the interests of those you are anxious to protect. (Hear, hear.) The noble lord concluded by moving the following amendment:—"That it is the opinion of this house, that the plan proposed by her Majesty's Government in reference to the sugar duties, professes to keep up a distinction between foreign free labour and foreign slave labour sugar, which is impracticable and illusory; and, without adequate benefit to the consumer, tends so greatly to impair the revenue as to render the removal of the income and property tax, at the end of three years, extremely uncertain and improbable."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said the noble lord had stated that he could see no distinction between the admission of sugar the produce of slave labour, and the admission of other articles, like cotton, tobacco, and coffee, which were equally the produce of slave labour. True it was that they had this point in common—that slave labour was employed in the cultivation of all of them; but he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) was only repeating what had been frequently advanced, and on recent occasions, when he asserted that there was a great difference in the personal suffering of the labourers employed in the production of sugar and of the other articles to which the noble lord had adverted. Often and often had the house been told of the waste of human life in sugar plantations, and often and often had it been almost contrasted in this respect with the cultivation of cotton, coffee, and tobacco. It was not to be denied that the importations of negroes from the coast of Africa into Brazil and Cuba were not intended to augment the production of cotton, coffee, or tobacco, but to settle lands for the cultivation of the more profitable crop, sugar. If ministers had endeavoured to establish a distinction between free labour sugar and slave

labour sugar, it was because they adhered to the humane principle repeatedly urged in Parliament, and enforced by treaties, that of endeavouring, by all the means in their power, to put down the slave-trade, by whomsoever it was carried on (cheers). The noble lord urged that such measures must be futile—that they must be illusory, because under them sugars from foreign states must be introduced, which ingenious persons would take care should come from any quarter where they could be procured to the best advantage. The noble lord relied upon the imaginary importation of sugars from Venezuela, whose produce was to be admitted upon the same terms as that of the most favoured nations; and if any ingenuity had been displayed, it would rather appear to have been shown by the individual who, as if wishing to support the position of the noble lord, and unwilling to run the risk of a larger importation, had brought in a single hoghead; for that was the extent of his adventure (cheers). Fraudulent importations from Venezuela had been threatened on former occasions; and he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had admitted that it would not be practicable, consistently with good faith, to exclude sugar from those countries from the advantages given to free labour sugar. He had endeavoured, however, to show that there were circumstances connected with Venezuela and the United States which rendered it highly improbable that any amount of sugar would be introduced from thence. What was the present state of Venezuela? Did they continue the slave-trade? No; they had long since abolished it. Did they continue slavery as part of the code of the republic? Quite the contrary. In 1822 they passed a law that every individual born after that year should be free. Therefore every man of twenty-three years of age in Venezuela was at this moment free, and every succeeding year added to the numbers. So far, then, from importations from thence being an encouragement to slave-grown sugar, it was an encouragement to free-labour sugar, and was consistent with the great object of this country—the utter extinction of slavery. The noble lord had next argued that the exclusion of sugar from Brazil and Cuba would tend greatly to aggravate colonial protection. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) confessed himself unable to understand the noble lord's proposition in this respect: if there were any truth in the argument of the honourable member for Manchester on a preceding night, it went to this, that whatever might be the amount of the protecting duty, to the extent of it a burden was imposed on the consumer in this country. A distinction had been made between free labour sugar and slave labour sugar; but whether it was the one or the other—whether it came from Java or Brazil, the burden upon the consumer was the same. Therefore there was no ground for assuming that the burden a protecting duty would impose on the population of this country had any connection with the distinction attempted to be drawn between slave labour and free labour sugar. This country did, and for a certain time must pay for adherence to the principle by which it had been actuated in relation to the slave-trade; but at the same time he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) begged to express grave doubts whether a decision by Parliament, that slave labour sugar should be admitted at a very moderate duty, would benefit the consumer by a permanent reduction of the price of the article. If Brazil sugar, which could be raised at a cheaper rate than the sugar of our own colonies, depressed as they were by the recent change from slavery to liberty, and unwilling as the black population naturally was just after emancipation to undertake the most burdensome toil of the cultivation of sugar—if, he said, the cheap sugar of the Brazils could at once be brought into competition, it might produce a diminution of price, but that diminution would, ere long, be followed by an excessively high price. A vast number of West Indian estates would be thrown out of cultivation; the production, which had been four millions of cwt., and had already been reduced to about half that amount, would amount to comparatively little, and such a revulsion would be occasioned as might lead in some cases to the abandonment of the West India islands as property not worth retaining. The vacuum thus created in the markets would instantly occasion a rise of price and a severe pressure. The noble lord's complaint had been, that measures had been adopted to promote immigration which were at variance with the comforts and happiness of the working classes; and he had taxed the island of Jamaica with having raised a loan, and provided for the interest of it by burdens upon the means of subsistence of the lower orders. Such was not the fact. The taxes imposed were limited to exports—they were upon the produce, and were paid by the proprietors of the produce for whose benefit the immigration was intended, and they were, therefore, not liable to the imputation cast upon them by the noble lord, no doubt from mis-information. If the house was willing to abandon that principle for which they had all so long contended, namely, to oppose every obstacle in the way of the continuance of slavery and the slave-trade—if the house was prepared to abandon its exertions in enforcing the treaties which had been made with France, Spain, Portugal, and other countries, for putting an end to that nefarious traffic—exertions which they had often been accused of not increasing, for the purpose of enforcing the observance of those treaties—(hear, hear)—if, he repeated, they were to abandon those principles, well and good. He knew that, by abandoning them, they might gain some temporary additional advantages to the consumers; but if they were to maintain their high character—if it was to be believed that they had, on moral principles, maintained the abolition of the slave-trade, and endeavoured to enforce it upon others, they could never justify themselves by adopting a course in respect to a particular article, the cultivation of which was a great inducement to the slave-trade—if, for the sake of the argument, that some additional burden would be thrown on the community for a time, they were to abandon all their efforts, and open the way to desolation and misery, of which it would be vain for the house to attempt to conceive—(hear, hear)—if they were to adopt this course, let not the noble lord the member for London, or the member for Durham (who had alluded to the subject the other evening), suppose that the country would be silent and apathetic as to the continuance of this traffic. He firmly believed, that if a general reduction of the duty on sugar were to take place (which would undoubtedly lead to an increased traffic in slavery), the accounts that would be received of the sufferings of the wretched victims on the passage, and the miseries they would endure upon their arrival at their destinations, would awaken the indignation of the benevolent people of this country, and their sentiments would find such an echo in that house that they would be obliged to adopt a course which

would be more consistent with their honour than that proposed by the noble lord (cheers).

Mr. LABOUCHERE said that the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down defended this part of the scheme upon one ground only; he said that to adopt any other course would be to give great encouragement to slave labour and the slave-trade in foreign countries. He (Mr. Labouchere) believed that there never was an assertion made more utterly destitute of foundation—(hear, hear)—and in support of which it was impossible to advance any sound argument (hear, hear). He would take the very arguments which the right honourable gentleman had used upon another part of this subject, and apply them to this question, and show how untenable his position was. What did the right honourable gentleman say in talking of the sugar trade in this country, when our colonies produced a surplus beyond what was required for consumption in this country, as to the effect which it would produce upon the price of sugar in general? He said, and truly, that all protective duties under those circumstances were entirely nugatory (hear, hear). There was a surplus of sugar, and we had some to spare to foreign countries, and whether they put on a differential duty or not, it was utterly nugatory (hear, hear). The price of the sugar which we could not consume, was, of course, governed by that of foreign sugar, and the differential duties were a dead letter on the statute book. But if this was true with regard to a part of our colonial sugar, under those circumstances, was it not equally a sound argument with regard to foreign free labour sugar produced at the present moment in the world? (hear, hear). He doubted whether any one could answer for the sugar which came into this country being the produce of free labour, and he believed that was the opinion entertained by every person who had turned his attention to the subject—(hear, hear);—and he stated advisedly that the West Indies were full of suspicion upon this point (hear, hear). As to the cargo of Venezuela sugar which had arrived in this country, it was doubted whether it was not the produce of Surinam or Porto Rico, and not of Venezuela, (hear, hear). If the right honourable gentleman could show that any palpable and real benefit would result from his scheme, well and good; but when they saw how imaginary and illusory was the idea that any discouragement would be given to the slave-trade at all under this system, it was a matter for grave consideration whether they would not create much positive mischief by introducing increasing fraud and prevarication in the mercantile world, upon a question of this description (hear, hear). No one could know the degree and extent of fraud that would take place. Who could say by what means merchants and planters would defeat the enactments of this bill? He had stated that he believed those opinions were held by the West Indians themselves, for whose benefit the right honourable gentleman said he was proposing this anomalous and strange system of legislation. He feared, especially after the late conduct of the Government on this subject, that the high tone assumed as to the grounds upon which this distinctive course was pursued, was not likely to raise the opinion in foreign countries (which it was desirable should be kept high) of the sincerity of this country as to the discontinuance of the slave-trade (hear, hear). He was afraid when they saw the same Minister who had so lately lowered the duties on coffee in favour of Brazil and Cuba—(hear, hear)—who had this year altered the duties on foreign coffee produced by a description of labour infinitely worse than that which cultivated the sugar cane—(hear, hear)—when foreigners, he said, observed this, they were not likely to believe that it was on a very sound principle as to the suppression of the slave-trade that the measures of the right honourable baronet was proposed (hear, hear). The duty on foreign slave-grown cotton had been very properly taken off; but when these things were considered, it was impossible to say that they held out to the world the prospect of consistent legislation on these subjects (hear, hear). With regard to another point, he confessed he could understand that they were discouraging the slave-trade and slave-grown sugar while they were completely excluding all foreign sugar from this country, but he could not see how they were doing so by admitting foreign sugar the produce of free labour, when the effect of that would be to raise the price of slave labour foreign sugar (hear, hear).

Mr. W. GLADSTONE said, to proceed to the resolution before the house, the first part of it declared that the attempt to keep up a distinction between foreign free-labour and foreign slave-labour sugar was impracticable and illusory. Now he had not on previous occasions said the distinction was so clear that it could be precisely drawn, for perhaps that might not always be the case; but the real question was whether they should or should not exclude sugar raised in countries which continued to carry on the African slave-trade. The bill of last year did not go to that full extent, for it did not pretend to keep up the requirement of a distinction between slave-grown and free labour sugar, for it admitted sugar of the former description from countries having certain treaties with us. He recollected that last year great complaints were made in making this distinction between the latter and these countries, but the house should bear in mind that the real question was as to the exclusion of sugar the produce of Cuba and the Brazils. Then the question was whether an attempt to distinguish between such sugar and free-grown sugar was impracticable and illusory. The right hon. gentleman said that sugar from these countries would come in through fraud, and also that if the effect of the present plan was to withdraw from the markets of the world a portion of free-grown sugar for the consumption of this country, that that deficiency would be filled up by a supply of slave-grown sugar from those two countries. Now these objections were not started in any novel terms, but in language which had been very often used against the proposal made last year. He then had said that it was not very likely that the sugar of Cuba or Brazil would come into our markets under the pretence of its being the produce of those countries. The noble lord made some allusions on this point, in reference to the recent introduction of sugar from Venezuela, and he stated that some unknown gentleman had informed him that he thought the sugar so introduced was the produce of Porto Rico, or Surinam, Brazil, or some other place; he (Mr. Gladstone) begged the house to mark that this person did not say distinctly that it was the sugar of any of these countries: this unknown authority would not say clearly and openly that it was not the sugar of Venezuela, and that it was the sugar of some other country. He (Mr. Gladstone) challenged the noble lord to bring

this party to book, and to give the grounds for the opinion which he had communicated to the noble lord; and when he obtained that opinion, let it be placed in the hands of the government, for by this means the noble lord would impose upon the government the necessity of adopting a strict inquiry into the whole matter, and it would throw on the officers who certified this sugar the duty of stating the grounds they had for saying that it was Venezuelan sugar. If the noble lord would take this course, and obtained a satisfactory answer to his inquiries, he would be provided with a powerful argument for resisting any attempt to persist in these distinctions; but if he did not do so, he was only again flooding the House of Commons with such rumours as were so repeatedly put forward last year on this subject (hear, hear). He was then repeatedly told that there were certain laws in the United States, by which sugar could be introduced into that country, and that by some payments and repayments, and by a sort of transfer from the right hand to the left hand, a large portion of American sugar could be imported into this country, and that in its place an equal quantity of sugar would be imported into the United States from Cuba and the Brazils. It was rather hard to expect that any one should have the laws of a foreign country at hand, so as at once to give a positive statement on the subject: but this matter had been much pressed upon him, and he had been repeatedly challenged on the point. It now appeared, however, that the whole was a mere fiction, and that the statement was invented for the purpose of deception, and that it was a mere figment imposed on the minds of honourable gentlemen. He asked whether the right hon. gentleman was warranted in saying that the plan of the government would give the same stimulus to the production of sugar in Brazil and Cuba as if we admitted it directly into our markets? It was well known that sugar bore a higher price in that market where it was in greatest demand, and that that description of sugar which was in demand in the greatest number of markets was always of higher value than that sugar which was in demand in only a few markets; thus, those persons who had sugar to dispose of here obtained a better price for foreign sugar than for West Indian produce. For his own part he sincerely believed that this measure would give a stimulus to the production of sugar in Java and Manilla, which would not be felt in the Brazils or Cuba. He would not deny, that if there was a great vacuum in the markets of the continent, occasioned by the flow of free-grown sugar into this country, that the Brazils and Cuba would supply some portion of sugar. He could not positively deny that this might occur, although he should much regret the circumstance; but he had every reason to believe that it would not be the case. He believed that the result of the measure would be, that the demand for sugar would be greatly increased in this country; but he also felt assured that there would be a great increase in the importation of sugar from our own colonies, and this to a much larger extent than there was any prospect of a short time since (hear, hear). He therefore felt with perfect confidence that the plan was not impracticable and illusory. He thought that the question of the importation of sugar from Brazil and Cuba stood upon very peculiar and special grounds, which involved the continuation of the slave-trade in those countries or not (near). But he would appeal to the noble lord and to the house on the extreme inexpediency of pressing such motions as the present before the world, as by doing so they were gaining neither of the objects which were contended for in that house. On the one hand, they (the government party), who were the majority of the British Parliament, had contended for the propriety of continuing a distinction between sugar grown by free labour and sugar the produce of slave-owning countries, and they had repeatedly shown the determination to allow the experiment of seeing how far that policy would be effectual in retarding the slave-trade to be carried out: while, on the other hand, the party of the noble lord—for, unfortunately, party politics were allowed to be mixed up in the matter (hear, hear.) prevented, by their repeated opposition, that experiment from being efficiently tried (hear, hear). He would grant that the feeling in the country differed to a great extent from the policy of the government, but on the other hand there was also a considerable proportion of that feeling in their favour (hear, hear). The honourable gentleman said that no section of the community supported the government on the present question. He (Mr. Gladstone) should distinctly assert the contrary (hear, hear). When he mentioned the names of the late Sir Thomas Buxton, of Sir Stephen Lushington, and of the members of the Anti-Slavery Society of London, as being all in support of the views of the government on the question then before the House, he believed that it would be admitted he had some grounds for that assertion (hear, hear). He might be told that the abolitionists were generally attached to the Reform or Liberal party, and that it was not to be wondered at if they still continued to show symptoms of prepossession in favour of the party to which the noble lord opposite belonged. But the fact showed that those parties possessed such strength of feeling, such depth of conviction, as to the real interests of humanity, which were involved in that subject, that the most ardent and thorough partisans, and the most honourable in every relation of life, men like Sir Stephen Lushington, were found ready to forget all their predilections in order to support the government in the course which they were resolved to maintain, and in which, it was contended by honourable gentlemen opposite, they were wholly unsupported (hear, hear). Mr. Sturge and Mr. Scobell, and other men who had sided in giving the last blow to slavery, whether rightly or wrongly he would not then say, in putting an end to the system of apprenticeship, men whose political opinions went, it was well known, even farther than those of the noble lord opposite and his party, gave their support to the government on this question; and he had, he conceived, therefore a right to say, that while a feeling existed in the country favourable to the views of the honourable gentlemen opposite, there was also a strong feeling in favour of the government in their exertions to put an end to slavery and the slave-trade in Cuba and Brazil. Under these circumstances, he put it to the sense of the House, whether it would not be better to give the government an opportunity of ascertaining, by an interval in the disturbance of the question, the result which their present policy was likely to have on the diminution of slavery and the trade in slaves. The government did not deny that the object of honourable gentlemen opposite was an important one—that a great responsibility rested with those who interrupted the legitimate course of commerce for purposes not of a commercial nature; but, on the other hand, honourable gentlemen opposite should not refuse to allow the great importance of

any effort to induce the governments of Cuba and Brazil to give up the slave-trade in which they were at present involved (hear, hear). If the right of search was to be continued, the proposition of the noble lord could not be carried out, for it would be acting against the common decency that regulates the proceedings of nations to send an armed force to intercept the slave-ships in the Atlantic, with instructions to put down the traffic in slaves, when necessary, by violence, and even by blood, and, at the same time, to open their markets to the produce of the slave labour of Brazil and Cuba, and thus to afford the greatest encouragement to the governments of those countries to continue and extend the slave-trade (hear, hear).

Mr. MACAULAY said, they were told that they were under a moral obligation to make a distinction between the admission of sugar, the produce of slave-labour, and sugar the produce of countries in which slavery did not exist. Now, he should be as unwilling to lie under the imputation of indifference to the African race as the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down could possibly be to the imputation of hypocrisy. He did, however, think that it was in his power to show, at least, strong reasons why no such moral obligation as that for which the right honourable gentleman contended rested upon them to interfere in the manner in which they were required. He begged to deny that there was any obligation whatever imposed upon them to convert their fiscal system into a penal code for correcting vices of independent states (hear, hear). He would say that when they once adopted that principle, it would lead to consequences which must result in throwing the whole economical condition of the world into confusion (hear, hear). He would say that if that principle were adopted, their whole fiscal legislation would become one mass of anomaly and confusion; and he would go further and add, that if that principle were admitted to be correct, the budget of the right honourable gentleman opposite must become one mass of inconsistencies and absurdity (hear, hear). If the right honourable gentlemen opposite did wish to carry out the principles which they professed on the present question, they would find numerous other cases in which they could have an opportunity of showing their consistency by applying the same principles to all (hear). He here referred to the past conduct of the government in relation to tobacco, and their present proposition to abolish the duty on cotton. There could not be a doubt that, when the right hon. baronet's budget reached the other side of the Atlantic, the slave-jobbers would be in a perfect ecstasy; more gangs of slavers would be collected than ever, and in both the breeding and the cultivating states there would be redoubled energy. It was perfectly amazing how the right honourable baronet could come forward, and after an harangue against slavery, introduce a budget favourable, in the highest degree, to the state which, above all others in the world, had the most to answer for in reference to slavery (hear, hear). He most fully admitted the paramount authority of moral obligation, but it was at the same time important that we should earnestly consider what our moral obligations to foreign countries are (hear, hear). We are clearly bound to consider them with benevolent and kindly feelings, to be disposed to render them all the reasonable good we can; but it is nevertheless true, that Providence assigns both to individuals and to societies certain spheres within which it is desirable their benefits should be peculiarly active, and beyond which, should they heedlessly wander, their mistaken efforts, however well intentioned, may do more harm than good, may produce all the deplorable effects of deliberate malevolence (hear, hear). The right honourable baronet had referred to the names and opinions of several of the leading advocates of emancipation; he, Mr. Macaulay, much doubted whether Sir Fowell Buxton would have approved, and whether Dr. Lushington did approve, of the right honourable Baronet's budget.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM felt, that Mr. Macaulay had hardly regarded the subject with a statesmanlike view, when he said that it ought not to be dealt with as a financial or commercial question. It was true, that the question ought not to be looked at abstractedly, as a question of finance or commerce, but that in taking it into consideration, they ought also to look at it as regarded political morality. Therefore, whilst he agreed in thinking that political morality was concerned in the question, he should also state that he conceived questions of finance and commerce of the highest description (hear, hear, hear, from the ministerial benches). The interests of the colonies ought not to be neglected in a consideration of this question. An immense change was forced by the Parliament of this country upon them, and it could not be denied that the position in which they were placed by that change was a subject which ought to be taken into consideration in dealing with this subject (cheers from the ministerial benches.) What, he would ask, had been the effects of the change which had been so produced? Although a liberal grant had been made to the proprietors in the West Indies, in order to afford them some compensation for the effects which were produced by the change, yet the means which they had of cultivating the soil had either been destroyed or rendered extremely narrow by the alteration (hear, hear). Now it might be supposed that when considerations of humanity induced the Parliament to abolish slave-labour, facilities would be afforded to the proprietors in the West Indies to obtain free labour. But what was the case as regarded the change we had effected there? We had taken away from the proprietors the slave-labour which they formerly employed, and we had not given them free labour in order to substitute it (cheers from the ministerialists). We took from them the slave labour which they had previously used in the West Indies, and, although we gave them some compensation for the change which we had effected, yet we had left them, to a great extent, without the means of cultivating their estates, except by the payment of very high wages to a population which had been recently liberated from slavery, and the members of which were unwilling to work except when they received very high remuneration (hear, hear). It was, therefore, a duty on our part to encourage the production of sugar in the West Indies and India to the utmost extent which was consistent with the interest of the British consumer (cheers from the ministerial benches). The reduction which the Government proposed would give a great benefit to the consumer, by reducing the retail price of sugar to an extent of from 1d. to 1½d. per lb., whilst it would not altogether disregard the interests of the West India proprietors, and that without any such loss to the revenue as the proposition of the noble lord would entail (hear,

hear.) If they encouraged the produce of slave labour, they could scarcely expect credit for sincerity in the maintenance of cruisers, and other means of putting down the slave-trade (hear, hear). Any attempt to allow an equal competition of slave labour with free labour sugar, would appear inconsistent with the policy which they had all along pursued, and which the house had sanctioned last year by its vote.

Mr. C. WOOD said, the noble lord, the member for London, had said, that slave-labour sugar would be encouraged by drawing sugar into the British markets, and the honourable member for Newark, who affected to treat that statement with contempt, admitted that it might possibly have a tendency of that description. What was this but a quibble—for he could designate it by no other name—upon a most important subject? And was it come to this, that when it was admitted by the advocates of the measure themselves, that "it had a tendency to promote slave-grown sugar," they were, at the same time, to stand up in that house and say, that they were doing nothing to encourage that traffic which the Government had so often condemned? He said that the measure would have not only a tendency, but the effect of promoting slave-grown sugar by the amount of free-grown sugar which we should take from the markets of the world by consuming it in this country. We should thereby give an encouragement as certain, though not as direct, as if we took the slave-grown sugar itself, which other countries would do openly; and at the same time, that an unnecessary burden would be inflicted upon this country. Notwithstanding all that had fallen from the right honourable gentleman, the ex-President of the Board of Trade, there was an increased feeling in the public mind against the distinctions which the Government wanted to sustain in dealing with the question of sugar. He himself had conversed with many upon the subject of that distinction, and he found no one who talked upon the subject who did not designate it as an absurdity. There was a considerable change of opinion, even amongst the anti-slavery party, and those persons who had hitherto taken a prominent part in the measures which had been agitated and adopted for the suppression of slavery. It was impossible also to conceal the strong opinion which was gaining ground without, that the measures which this country had pursued for some time, were not well calculated to serve the interests of humanity; and Sir Thomas Buxton himself, and others, of whom he ever thought and spoke with respect and reverence, had distinctly avowed their opinion, that in respect to the slave-trade, the exertions which the country had made, instead of checking the slave-trade, had only tended to aggravate its horrors. Many persons who had taken, and still took, a most active part in anti-slavery measures, entertained the opinion, that the distinction between slave-grown and free-grown sugar, which, indeed, was that evening thrown entirely over by the right honourable gentleman the member for Newark, was absurd and untenable, and believed that slavery would be more favourably affected in the end by abolishing such distinctions than by maintaining them, and consenting to receive, in competition with our colonial produce, free-grown sugar alone. The superiority of free labour over slave labour, in the cultivation of sugar, was manifest, from a comparative statement which he held in his hand, and from which it appeared that the same amount of labour which in Cuba would produce only 2,666 lbs. of sugar in a given time, would in Mexico produce 5,332, that was to say, twice the amount produced by slave labour.

SIR R. PEEL said, the subject to which he wished to address himself was, as he understood the question, whether it was right or not that sugar, the produce of slave labour, should enter into competition with other sugar, the produce of free labour. He should not be prepared to admit sugar the produce of slave labour to come into competition with sugar the produce of free labour (cheers). He did not think it would be just to their colonies; he did not think, notwithstanding the very able speech of the right honourable gentleman the member for Edinburgh, he did not think that it would be at all consistent with the principles which they avowed to the world, and the course they had taken, now to pass a resolution which would admit sugar the produce of slave labour into competition with sugar the produce of their colonies. With respect, first of all, to the question of policy and justice, as far as their colonies were concerned. He admitted at once, that if they had regard to purely commercial and financial considerations, he would be bound at once to say that he could not defend it (hear, hear, from members on the opposition benches). He thought that, on a pure abstract preference of commercial and financial consideration to any other, ought to induce them to make no distinction between free and slave-grown sugar; but then he said it was impossible for them to disregard the position of the West Indies (hear, hear). He admitted that they had behaved with great liberality, as far as individuals were concerned, and that they had made a great pecuniary sacrifice; but still he did not think that that pecuniary sacrifice, however onerous it was to the country, and however complete might have been the compensation in some cases, and he doubted if it did not relieve but a very few, still he said, considering what was their relation to the colonies, when it was proposed to admit slave labour in competition with the produce of free labour. First, they had abolished in the West Indies the slave-trade, and then they had abolished slavery; and in that case were they to require them to enter into competition with Brazil and Cuba, where not only slavery existed, but the slave-trade existed, and the slave-trade was carried on to a very great extent, and this in direct violation of public engagements? (hear, hear). There could be no doubt that a sufficient time had not elapsed to have free labour introduced and established in their colonies to that extent to enable free labour to compete with slave labour. Though there might be an immediate gain by allowing that competition, though there might be an immediate gain to the consumer from sugar the produce of slave labour coming into competition with sugar the produce of free labour, still, he asked, would it be so desirable in their relation to those colonies, or would it be desirable, where there was a progress to an improved condition in these colonies, to disable them now to bear the burdens to which they were subject? He must say that he doubted ultimately—that is, if they desired to maintain their existing colonial relations, whether the sacrifice that they would make of their interests would not countervail any immediate advantages that they obtained (hear, hear). The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Macaulay) said that if there was any one country against which they

had a right to raise the indignation of the civilized world, it was the United States—that it was the United States that continued slavery, and that, too, in its most aggravated form—that it was the United States that bred slaves for the purposes of labour; and that if the United States had given their power to render the right of search effective, that with its aid it would have been sufficient to put an end to the slave-trade. The right honourable gentleman had said what was perfectly right, that the public feeling in France would not have been excited if the United States had given its cordial aid to the right of search. But then the United States were an independent power, they had the right to continue slavery, and they had a right to refuse aiding in the right of search. It might not be right or just, or proper for them to do so. That was not the question; but, as an independent power, it had a right to exercise that discretion. The right honourable gentleman then observed, that they refused sugar, the produce of slave labour; and why did they not refuse cotton, the produce of slave labour also? The right honourable gentleman said he did not oppose their receiving cotton; but that he could not reconcile their consistency on both points. The right honourable gentleman had said that he doubted, if he opposed the introduction of cotton, whether he would do anything to improve the condition of the slaves, and whether his doing this might weaken, and not strengthen, those who in the United States were friendly to the abolition of slavery. Let it be so. Then he wished to show that there was a material distinction between encouraging the importation of sugar the produce of Cuba and Brazil, and of cotton the produce of the United States. It was always to be held in mind that the labour in the produce of cotton was infinitely less severe than in the produce of sugar. The unhealthiness of the cotton plantation was less than that of the sugar plantation. He relied on this, that the only two countries which could enter into formidable competition in the production of sugar, were two countries with respect to which they stood in a peculiar situation, namely, Cuba and Brazil (hear, hear). He would now attempt to show that the permission to Cuba and Brazil to import sugar, the produce of slave labour, would be contrary to the dictates of humanity, and would inflict a great and particular evil on that class of society which had the strongest claims on their superintendence and interference, the negro population of the coast of Africa. They stood in a peculiar position with respect to the slave-trade. They had contracted a special obligation as to the suppression of the slave-trade. It might be very well to say that the slave-trade being carried on by other countries was not matter of concern to England—that they would not interfere with the course of their free action. That, he said, was not their course. They had publicly proclaimed that they would do all in their power to suppress the slave-trade. The people of England had made a clear distinction between slavery and the slave-trade. On general principles, why, it was said, should they interfere with Brazil, or why undertake the management of the general policy of the world? The noble lord (Viscount Howick) thought that they were unwise to undertake it. That might be; but that then was not the position in which they stood. They had resolved to use their utmost efforts to suppress the slave-trade. What now were the facts as to the slave-trade? As this country did not now carry it on, the horrors of that trade were not brought under their notice in the way that they used to be; but occasionally there were debates, in which persons speaking on the highest authority disclosed some of those horrors to them. They might now form a wrong impression on this subject—they might think that in admitting the sugar of Cuba and Brazil they thereby gave a fresh stimulus to the slave-trade. The anti slavery feeling was now dormant; but if it were afterwards proved that by admitting Cuba and Brazil sugar, they had aggravated the horrors of the slave-trade, they might be assured that feeling would be revived, and that great discontent would compel them to depart from their policy (hear, hear). The noble lord had given an account, founded on his own experience, last session, of the horrors of the slave-trade. The noble lord had stated, that human beings on the coast of Africa were entrapped and brought to Brazil, that they were placed on board ships and between decks, where there was not more space than from two feet to two feet and a half, and that there were often to be found 600 human beings crowded together in the slave ships. This occurred in bringing slaves to the two countries from which the sugar was to come. Let it be considered what must be the sufferings of from six to seven hundred human beings thus placed during the whole of the middle passage—that they were placed between decks, not more than two feet apart, and this without the opportunity of stirring, so that it constantly happened that when they arrived at Brazil their limbs were paralyzed. That slave trade was now carried on to a great extent, and they were bound to do all they could to suppress it. Now the two countries in the world which carried on and sanctioned that trade were the said two countries of Brazil and Cuba (cheers). He availed himself of the authority of the noble lord to state what were the effects of this. This was said by him last year: "But both Spain and Brazil are bound by treaties concluded with us, to prohibit all their subjects from engaging in or being concerned with the slave-trade in any manner whatsoever; and they have, in pursuance of those treaties, promulgated laws denouncing severe punishments upon such of their subjects as may have anything to do with the trade. But these governments notoriously set at nought their engagements, and systematically disregard them, while they permit their own laws to be daily and openly violated with impunity." When the Spanish authorities determined upon suppressing this trade, it was greatly diminished by General Valdez, who had been appointed by Espartero. It was under the sanction of the governments of Cuba and Brazil that the slave-trade had revived; and if it were not discountenanced, their efforts for the suppression of such a traffic would be ineffectual. If we had cruisers stationed on the one coast, attempting to prevent vessels laden with slaves leaving Africa, and on the other were permitting vessels from Cuba and the Brazils, laden with sugar, the produce of slave labour, then, indeed, would our conduct be inconsistent (hear, hear). Those countries were bound in engagements to us on the subject of slavery, which they had not fulfilled. He spoke of the engagements entered into with us, and the special duty imposed upon them to abolish slavery, or even to improve the condition of the slave within their own territory; but the positive engagements they had entered into with

us to prohibit and discourage the slave-trade, and those engagements had not been fulfilled (hear, hear). It was said there was some inconsistency in permitting cotton, the produce of slave-labour cultivation, to come into this country, and at the same time prohibiting slave grown sugar. But it was difficult to take any course that was not liable to the objection of inconsistency (cheers from the opposition). He did not suppose any one would advise that cotton, the produce of slave labour, should be prohibited (hear, hear). But the question was, whether the import of slave-grown sugar from the Brazils and Cuba would not be a great curse to the African race (hear, hear). Whether or not, the horrors of slavery in Cuba and the Brazils would not be aggravated by the permission to import their produce into this country? And if so, then, whether there was any inconsistency in our conduct in regard to the admission of cotton, was not the question; but the question was, what was the course which it was the duty of this country to pursue, so far as the interests of humanity were concerned—whether the declarations we had made were to be forgotten, and the course we had but lately pursued in the face of Europe, and to which we were bound, in concert with other powers, to put a stop to the slave-trade on the coast of Africa was to be abandoned altogether (hear). If they (the opposition) had now new views on the matter, if the views expressed by the late government in 1840 were changed, he had no doubt the change had been adopted not without sufficient reason; but they might depend upon it that the admission into this country for the benefit of British consumers of an unimpeded and unlimited supply of sugar, the produce of the Brazils and Cuba, would be looked upon by Europe and by the world as inconsistent with our profession and the principles for which we had been so long contending (hear, hear), and in that case, he should advise this country to abandon altogether its efforts to suppress the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, because if they did so, they would be only attempting to punish by the one act the crime they were encouraging on the other (hear). He hoped a better feeling was now entertained in many of the countries of Europe, in respect to the question of the slave-trade than formerly prevailed. He believed the European states were becoming alive to its great evils—he believed they were now beginning to understand, that after the experiment we had successfully made in all our colonies to put an end to slavery, it was scarcely safe for them to continue a system of unmitigated slavery in their provinces. He found that very recently the Swedish minister had made a proposition to his government for the ultimate abolition of slavery in that West India island that belonged to Sweden. In Denmark the question was under discussion, whether slavery should be abolished or not; and a petition, numerous signed, praying for its abolition in all the Danish possessions, had been presented. France, too, was seriously considering whether or not it was politic to continue the existing status of slavery in their dominions. Portugal had acted in a manner that entitled her to the greatest praise—that country was fulfilling its engagements in this respect, and was exerting itself against the slave-trade in the most praiseworthy manner, and we had no ground of complaint against her (hear, hear). And as to the United States—this step at least had been made—the resolution by which even the presentation of a petition to Congress against the slave-trade was prohibited had been rescinded, and it was now competent for any member of Congress to present a petition, and make a motion on the subject. And, notwithstanding the declaration of public men in the United States to the contrary, he believed it would be difficult for the United States, consistently with its own interests, to maintain unmitigated the state of slavery which now existed in some portions of their territory. We had, however, no right to interfere in this respect (hear, hear, hear). The decisions of the United States were in their own discretion. It was true that a feeling existed there on the subject stronger than in any other part of the world; but in Europe, in Germany, France, Denmark, and Sweden, a strong impression prevailed that the time had arrived when, following the example of England, it would be proper for them to put a stop to the present status of slavery existing in their dominions (hear, hear). He earnestly hoped the House would not come to a decision which would, he feared, materially impair its moral influence with the world, and impede the progress of those principles to which he had adverted. It was admitted by Europe, that our sacrifices for the abolition had been most generous; in no quarter was there a doubt of our sincerity. That was the position England now occupied in regard to this question; but if we deviated from the course we had hitherto pursued, we should give an encouragement to the slave-trade; and if we admitted the slave-grown sugar of Cuba and the Brazils, we might depend on it we should diminish our moral influence, and detract from that respect which was now entertained for us all over Europe. It would be looked upon as an admission that our exertions for the suppression of slavery had failed, and that we were influenced in that object, not by motives of humanity but by motives of interest. That would be the taunt thrown out against us (hear, hear). If we resorted to Cuba and the Brazils for our supplies, with our knowledge of the horrors of slavery in those countries, then the accusation of hypocrisy made against us by Mr. Colquhoun would have a much better colour than it had now. He would, without hesitation, give his vote against the proposition of the noble lord, which sanctioned the principle that sugar, the produce of slave labour, should be admitted now for the first time to the great market of the United Kingdom (hear, hear).

Viscount PALMERSTON said, the argument of the right honourable gentleman in defence of that distinction is confined to the encouragement which the admission of slave-grown sugar would give to the slave-trade. The right honourable baronet takes his stand on the engagements entered into by other countries towards Great Britain, and says, in reply to the unanswerable argument of my right honourable friend, the member for Edinburgh (Mr. Macaulay), adduced in reference to the importation of slave-grown cotton, "That there is this distinction between cotton and sugar—the United States have entered into no arrangement with this country from which they have availed—they are free from any engagements with us on the subject, and have a right to have slaves, and employ them in the cultivation of cotton, and that we have no right to legislate with a view to prevent them from doing that which they have not engaged to abstain from" (hear). The right honourable gentleman then throws aside the principles of humanity, and

stands on the right given to this country by treaties with other powers (hear, hear). The Brazils and Spain, he says, have contracted treaties, by which they bind themselves not to prosecute the trade in slaves—they have broken those engagements, and therefore we are right in legislating to exclude their slave-grown produce. Why, if the argument be good for sugar, it is equally so for all other articles in the production of which slaves are employed (hear, hear). It was equally good for coffee (hear, hear). But what did the government last year? They reduced the discriminating duty on Brazilian coffee; and so far as the cultivation of coffee employs slaves in the Brazils, and encourages the import of negroes, they did themselves by their act of last year give encouragement to the slave-trade (cheers). What have they done this year, in violating those principles which the right honourable baronet has just laid down? The whole of the duty is taken off the import of copper ore. Now copper ore, as is well known, comes from Cuba, and is got from the earth by means of slave labour. Therefore, both last year, by the change you made in the tariff, and this year, by your measures, you do that which you call on the House to prevent (hear, hear). What nonsense to tell us that if you take 20,000 tons of sugar from the market of the world, it makes the slightest difference whether these 20,000 tons consist of slave or free-labour sugar. Whatever the production of the sugar, the void when made will impart an increased value to what remains (hear, hear). Whether you take slave-grown sugar or free-labour sugar, the result is the same—you increase the price of that left in the market of the world; and if that sugar be sold, you will give increased encouragement to its production; and thus indirectly, but certainly, aid and foster and assist in carrying on slavery and the slave-trade (loud cheers).

Sir CHARLES NAPIER rose amid loud cries of "divide." He wished to know whether honourable gentlemen proposed to prevent Cuba introducing her slave-grown sugars into this country? The introduction of Brazilian sugar might be prevented, but Cuba sugar was easily transferred to America, and could thence be as easily transmitted to the English markets.

The House then divided.

For the amendment.....	142
Against it	236
Majority against the amendment	— 94

FRIDAY, February 28.

SUGAR DUTIES.

On the order of the day being read for going into Committee of Ways and Means on the sugar duties,

Mr. HOGG objected to the differential duty proposed on white clayed sugar, or sugar rendered by any process equal to white clayed, not being refined, and on brown sugar, being Muscovado or clayed, or on any other sugar not being equal to white clayed. On the former it was proposed that there should be a duty of 16s. 4d. per cwt., and on the latter a duty of 14s. His objection was, not to the principle, but to the application of the discriminating duty. To make it intelligible to the house [that the proposed application of the differential duty would act unfairly, he must call their attention to the nature of the manufacture of sugar in the East and in the West Indies. In the East Indies the manufacture of sugar was now the same as for centuries past it had been—it was a manufacture peculiar to the East Indies. The sugars there were not clayed. The mode of manufacturing sugars in the East Indies was this: they were filtered through wet grass, the colour was greatly improved, and the sugars rendered very white. But that process diminished the strength of the sugar, and rendered it intrinsically of less value. Now, his complaint was this, that they would have the sugars of the East Indies, being white and pure, coming in at 16s. 4d. per cwt., while the rich Muscovado sugar of Barbadoes, containing a greater quantity of saccharine matter, and altogether a superior sugar, would come in at the lower duty. He would tell them what would be the result of this. Orders would go out from this country to those who produce sugar in the East Indies to this effect,—"Don't send us any longer the white pure sugar that will be subjected to the higher duty, but send us a black, dirty, impure act of Parliament sugar" (a laugh). Everybody knew that the manufacture of sugar was improving every day (hear.) But the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he insisted upon the measure of which he (Mr. Hogg) complained, would check that improvement, and, as there would only be two classes of sugar, the public would either have to take the dirty sugar, or have recourse to another. Now, he contended that the public of this country and the consumers ought not to be driven to the expense of refined or lump sugar, and that every one ought to endeavour to manufacture the best sugar for general consumption without being refined. It was unfair to make this distinction between the East and West Indies. It would not militate against the interests of the West Indies that the East Indies should produce large quantities of cheap sugar, while by producing plenty of free-labour sugar the object of the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government would be attained. On the other hand, if he checked the produce of the East Indies, as he would by this discriminating duty, and thus make the quantity both of the East and West Indies insufficient for these countries, no power on earth would keep out slave-grown sugar (hear, hear). He concluded by moving, "That it is the opinion of this house that there ought not to be any discriminating duty between sugars, muscovado and clayed, not being refined; and that any such duty would interfere with the measure of equalization between sugars the produce of the East and West Indies."

Mr. HUME seconded the motion.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER had always felt the great difficulties that lay in the way of the plan of differential duties; but at the same time, being desirous of giving the public the full benefit to be derived from a reduction of price, and being desirous of giving to East India and West India sugar an effective but not an extravagant protection, he had nevertheless thought it essential to the discharge of his duty that he should propose a differential duty. The standard taken in the resolution was the white-clayed sugar of Java. All sugars below that standard were

to pay the lower duty, and all above it the higher. He firmly believed that if the house adopted the resolutions as they stood, and took the quality of white clayed sugar as the test of sugar being subject to the higher duty, that test would be practically useful, and do justice between contending parties. They were now practically bringing the sugar of our own colonies into competition with the sugar of foreign countries. This necessarily created alarm, and there was scarcely any particular class connected with the sugar trade that did not wish for some alterations in the proposed scheme to suit its own views; but as the Government had consented to a sacrifice of revenue in lowering the duties on sugar in order to insure a more extended consumption, it also proposed to reserve the power of imposing a lower duty on the lower classes of sugar, and a higher duty on the higher classes, for otherwise those who consumed the lower kinds of sugar could not have the advantage it was intended to give them (hear, hear).

Mr. HAWES wished to know who was to judge of the quality of sugar on its importation into this country? How was it possible to suppose that Custom-house officers could properly judge of the colour, granulation, and strength of the different sugars, or that the Custom-house officers in Cork, Liverpool, and London would all come to the same conclusion? He had had communications with practical men, who all said that the attempt was full of great practical difficulties, that it would subject the trade to unequal rates of duty, and would introduce fraud. What did they call upon the Customs officers to do? They took the sugar of Java as a standard, and then they required the Custom-house officers everywhere to be the judges of colours, of granulation, and of the saccharine qualities. He would like to have heard from the right hon. gentleman the authority of any practical man in favour of the possibility of making the distinction: the whole city of London was open to the Government to make inquiries, but no such authority had been quoted. Unless such an authority could be obtained, he did ask the Government to reconsider the question.

Sir R. PEEL was sure hon. gentlemen would admit that the position of the Government was one of difficulty (hear, hear), because they were not at liberty to make very extensive inquiries; and it was necessary to limit their consultation, before they announced their plan, to a very small number of persons. The object of the Government was not to subject East Indian sugar to any disadvantage; they did not desire to favour the West Indies at the expense of the East Indies (hear, hear). The hon. gentleman says, that we have no authority for making any such experiment, and that we have no practical testimony in its favour; but we have had communications from the Custom-house officers that nothing is more easy than to make the distinction. The best course, if the forms of the house would allow them, would be to apply themselves to the consideration of the question, whether they could impose a mere power of discrimination upon the Custom house officers, and should accurately define what should constitute quality. With further consideration they might be able to determine whether they could introduce particular words. If, therefore, the forms of the house would allow, the resolution might now be passed on the understanding that in committee on the bill, unless they should adopt a satisfactory definition of what should be the quality, in the sense in which it was generally understood, his hon. friend should be at liberty to object to it, and make a motion on the subject, and to limit the power of the Custom-house officers. They might allow the resolution then to pass, on the understanding that no one should be bound by it not to make an objection to the clause in the bill.

After a few words from Mr. HAWES, Mr. MANGLES, Mr. F. BARING, and Mr. GLADSTONE,

Mr. HOGG withdrew his amendment.

MONDAY, March 3.

SUGAR DUTIES.

On the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rising to propose his resolutions on the sugar duties, a long and desultory conversation took place respecting the alleged impracticability of distinguishing between the different qualities of sugar, not being refined; and at length it was agreed that the resolutions should be withdrawn, and the subject be brought forward again on Friday.

TRINIDAD LEGISLATION.

We mentioned in our last, that an Immigration Loan ordinance had been passed in Trinidad in a very hurried and indecent manner, on the alleged urgency of Lord Stanley. The *Port of Spain Gazette* furnishes us with the following account of the proceedings.

COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT, Dec. 9, 1844.

IMMIGRATION LOAN ORDINANCE.

Mr. LOSH.—The bill ("An ordinance for the raising of money to be applied to the promoting of immigration of agricultural labourers from British dominions in India and elsewhere," had been read a first time. Its provisions differed, on one or two points, from the one previously passed. The former ordinance had fixed the loan at 200,000*l.*; this was, by the present bill, increased to 250,000*l.* The number of years for raising the loan had also been increased from four to five years. In the former bill the agents had been named; in the present bill it had been left entirely to the Secretary of State to appoint the agents. The loan was to be repaid from the export duty, and the money to be raised was to be also applicable for the return passage of such as might wish to go back. There was another ordinance which accompanied this, for emigration from Asia. The export duty on produce amounted to 18,000*l.*, and the sum required for immigration yearly was 16,300*l.* The export duty had not increased in the same ratio as was expected, as the value of produce had decreased. It was the earnest desire of the Home Government to put down slavery altogether, and he looked upon this measure (immigration from India) as a

great means of arriving at that object; there could not be a better means than this to make capital available, and they could not too much appreciate the enlightened policy of the Home Government in promoting a measure of this kind. He thought the ordinary revenue of the colony quite sufficient for the purpose. He would move that the ordinance be read a second time.

Mr. SCOTT.—He would second the motion.

TREASURER.—He thought the sum named in the former ordinance would be quite sufficient, and he would propose that the amount to be expended in any one year should not exceed 30,000*l.*, which would introduce 2,000 or 2,500 people; and also that no sum should be raised without the approbation of the Governor.

Mr. LOSH.—It was quite true that 30,000*l.* would bring into this colony 2,000 Coolies, but he should not think to make it apply to immigration generally, that the sum of 50,000*l.* would be too small. The power to expend this money was vested in the Secretary of State, who would see that it was properly applied.

SOLICITOR GENERAL.—In the case of a Parliamentary loan the Government guarantees it, and they expect the colonial Government to pass an ordinance to guarantee them.

HIS EXCELLENCY.—After the insurrection in Jamaica, when the people were suffering very much, the Government lent the money.

On the motion of Mr. Losh, the board went into committee on the bill.

The clauses were read seriatim.

On the first clause being read, authorising the raising of a loan of 250,000*l.*, the Treasurer moved as an amendment that the same should stand at 200,000*l.*

The Solicitor General remarked that he was well convinced that every shilling proposed to be raised would be well applied.

The Treasurer's amendment not having been seconded, was lost.

The third clause, authorising the raising of 50,000*l.* in any one year, was objected to by the Treasurer, who moved as an amendment that the sum should be limited to 30,000*l.* The amendment, not being seconded, was lost.

The several clauses passed through committee, and the bill was read a second time, and the board resumed.

Mr. LOSH moved that the standing rules be suspended, that the bill might be read a third time and passed.

TREASURER.—He considered that the ordinance should not be read a third time, but that it should be reprinted, and that it was necessary to take the opinion of the public on the subject, and contended that it was necessary for them to observe the forms of the board.

COLONIAL SECRETARY.—Perhaps the Treasurer was not aware that Lord Stanley was very anxious that this bill should be passed and sent home.

ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The principle of the ordinance was the same as the one they had already passed, and the present ordinance could only be considered as an amendment of the former ordinance.

Mr. SCOTT.—They were merely verbal alterations in the ordinance.

The Colonial Secretary read an extract from Lord Stanley's despatch, expressing a desire that this ordinance should be passed and forwarded home with the least possible delay.

Mr. LOSH.—There was no advantage to be gained by the delay proposed by the Treasurer; and he thought that by passing the ordinance they would meet the views of the Home Government. There was no change, no alteration in the principle of the bill; and, under those circumstances, he would move the suspension of the standing rules.

HIS EXCELLENCY.—This could not be called a hasty measure. A similar ordinance had already passed the board, and had been sent home. Lord Stanley wished the council to pass this bill. The agents in the former bill had been named, but Lord Stanley wished to have the appointment of the agents, which had been provided for in the ordinance before them. A great deal of interest and trouble had been taken by influential parties at home connected with the colony on this subject; and he thought they should mark their sense of the conduct of these public spirited gentlemen at home—he could not think the ordinance was hurried. There had been a petition got up here by certain parties, and sent home, against the former ordinance; the receipt of the petition had been acknowledged, and no further notice was taken of it. He really thought no colony in the West Indies had given so little trouble to the Home Government as Trinidad had done; and he thought the board of council ought to feel the way in which Lord Stanley had carried out their ordinances which they had enacted. They would be able to meet a great part of the immigration expenses from the ordinary revenues of the colony.

Mr. LOSH then moved the ordinance be read a third time.—Carried.

Mr. LOSH moved, seconded by Mr. Scott, that the ordinance do pass.—Carried.

COOLIE IMMIGRATION.

Mr. LOSH moved the second reading of an ordinance to make provision for the payment of the expenses of bringing into this colony immigrants from Asia, and further to extend the provisions of an ordinance entitled, "An ordinance to make provision for the payment of expenses of bringing into this colony immigrants from the coast of Africa or other places, under the authority and direction of Her Majesty's Government."

The board went into committee, when the several clauses of the bill were read, and the board resumed. The ordinance was read a second time. The standing rules were suspended, and the bill was read a third time and passed.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.—The following petitions have been presented against the immigration of Hill Coolies, as affecting the morals of the community, and as entailing a large amount of extravagant taxation:—From the Baptist Western Union. From certain tax-payers in the parish of Hanover. From the inhabitants of the Eastern Interior of the parish of St. James. From certain inhabitants of the parish of

Trelawny. From Waldensia and Unity congregations, in the parish of Trelawny. From the inhabitants of the Western Interior of the parish of St. James. From a Presbyterian congregation in the parish of St. James. From certain labourers in the parish of Westmoreland. From certain tax-payers in the parish of Westmoreland. From sundry ministers, merchants, planters, and others, of Clarendon. There was one petition, and only one, in favour of the scheme. We had hoped, notwithstanding the but partial representation of the people, that public opinion had made such advances, that a disposition would have been manifested on the part of our legislators to seek the welfare of the community, and to redress all grievances; but we have been disappointed—the votes on the immigration question are an answer to the complaint raised against taxation; the former house chastised you with whips, but we will do it with scorpions.—*Morning Journal*.

ST. LUCIA.—The year has opened with the most favourable weather for all the purposes of the planter, and the greatest activity prevails on every estate, both in manufacturing the sugar of the present crop, as well as in preparing land and planting the crop of 1846; and notwithstanding these extensive operations, we hear no complaint of any want of labourers. The very abundant supply and low price of imported provisions is operating most advantageously in favour of the growth of our exportable staples;—the diminished demand for home-grown provisions causing an unusually large amount of labour to become available to the sugar planter;—the moderate reduction in the wages of labour, which we had occasion to notice about six months since, but which are still amply remunerative, has been cheerfully submitted to by the labourer, and this furnishes a further proof, if any were necessary, of the soundness of that policy which has been acted upon in this colony, namely, that of permitting the free introduction of cheap foreign food, and thereby liberating the hands that would otherwise be employed in cultivating that food in the colony.—*Independent Press*.

TRINIDAD.—THE PEASANTRY.—In a late sitting of the Council of Government, Mr. Burnley is reported to have said:—"There had been a committee appointed some time ago to inquire into the squatting nuisance. There had, he believed, been one meeting of the committee at which he had not been so fortunate as to attend; and he could not find out when there was to be, or if there ever would be, another meeting, or who was the chairman of the committee. It was most necessary that something should be done. Since the recent reduction of wages, the labourers had again commenced occupying and cultivating, without leave or license, the northern range of hills in the vicinity of Tacarigua, and he believed the same thing was taking place at Point a Pierre. He had expected a great deal of good from the appointment of the committee, but instead of that a great deal of harm had resulted. The stipendiary magistrates no longer took the steps they were previously in the habit of taking for dislodging or checking squatting. They seemed to feel themselves altogether absolved from any further interference in the matter by the appointment of the committee, and did nothing. We were about importing a large number of Coolies. When these arrived, planters would naturally be anxious to get rid of such bad subjects as they were now necessitated to employ, and supply their place by the new arrivals, and then all these—the worst description of our population—would go and do as others were doing at present. By and by the removal of such persons from grounds so occupied by them would be considered a hardship and cruelty."—*Port of Spain Gazette*.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—TEXAS.—Extract of a letter from J. G. Whittin to Joseph Sturge, dated Boston, 31st of 1st month, 1845.—"We are just through with the most important meeting which has ever been held in this state, in relation to slavery. A convention of the people, irrespective of party, opposed to the annexation of Texas, as a slave-holding territory, has just been held in Faneuil Hall, in this city. Fifteen hundred delegates, comprising a great number of the talent and wisdom of Massachusetts, were in attendance. Chief Justice Williams presided, assisted by twelve vice presidents, among whom was our liberty friend the Hon. Wm. Jackson, late member of Congress for Massachusetts. Judge Allen, of Worcester, presented, as chairman of a committee for that purpose, a powerfully-written protest against the iniquitous scheme for extending and perpetrating slavery. We are full of anxiety in respect to the result of this question in Congress. A resolution in its favour has passed the house by a vote of 118 to 98. What will be its state in the senate is still doubtful. It is a tremendous question. The consequences of the passage of the bill now before the Congress, must be disastrous in the extreme. Territory sufficient for five states will be consecrated to slavery, and the rights and interests of the north placed entirely at the mercy of slaveholders."

Extract of a letter from Lewis Tappan to Joseph Sturge, dated New York, Jan. 30th, 1845.—"Last Saturday (25th inst.) the various projects before the House of Representatives in Congress relative to the annexation of Texas were disposed of. Those from the ultra pro-slavery side of the house, and from the ultra anti-slavery side, were all voted down. Mr. Mitten Brown, of Tennessee, a Whig, introduced resolutions that were adopted by a vote of 118 to 101. His proposition differs from most others which have been presented, in leaving Texas to pay her own debts with her own resources, including her public lands. It provides also, that Texas is to be annexed, if at all, not as a territory, nor as a state territory, but simply as a state comprehending the whole territory. But from this state new states may be hereafter erected, not exceeding four in addition to the state of Texas. Those states shall be entitled to administer into the union the same as states already admitted. It is provided that such of these states as may be forced out of territory south of lat. 36 deg. 30 min. shall be admitted with or without slavery, as the inhabitants of each state asking admission may desire; but in states formed out of territories north of such line, slavery shall be prohibited. Now, as the best part of the lands and most of the inhabitants are south of the line, it is probable that if Texas shall be

admitted, that three-fourths at least of the whole territory will be given up to slavery. We did not anticipate that any project would be adopted by the house by so large a majority, if at all, and it had greatly distressed us. Still the provision that Texas shall pay her own debts will cool the ardour of many of the friends of annexation, who anticipated sharing in the money they expected Congress would appropriate to pay the debts of Texas. The resolutions are now before the senate. It is doubtful how the vote will be in that body. We hope for the best, and yet look forward with anxious alarm to the decision. If the resolutions pass both houses, it will then be seen whether Texas will agree to the terms. Mr. Adams made a powerful speech on the unconstitutionality of this measure, but furious partisans did not need this argument. The low price of cotton has made the slaveholders almost mad, and the democrats in the free states are afraid that if they do not vote with the slaveholders their party will be diminished or overthrown, so that to parley to the claims of humanity the rights of the poor slaves are to be sacrificed."

FUGITIVE SLAVES.—It is stated that Mr. Calhoun remitted to Mr. Everett, by the last steamer, a most decided despatch, demanding from our government positive information relative to the refusal given by the authorities of the Bahamas, some time back, to deliver up some slaves who, after murdering a family in Florida, escaped to the island. —*Times' Correspondent.*

REV. C. T. TORREY.—The friends of Mr. Torrey will be gratified to learn, that his situation is not so "bad as it might be." A friend in Baltimore writes me:—He visited the prison a few days since, and that Mr. T. was in the "warping department," which he thinks is the "lightest business the prison discipline allows." They had not "shaved his head," but made a "clean sweep of his whiskers." He says the warden told him "he never had a prisoner go to work so cheerfully;" and gave as a reason, "he (Torrey) had committed no crime."

DELIA WEBSTER.—Miss Delia Webster has been three days in the prison. She is sentenced for two years, on a charge of aiding in the escape of runaway slaves. I have not seen her, but I am told there is a growing sentiment in favour of her liberation among all who make themselves acquainted with her case. It is said that she has been convicted on testimony rather vaguely circumstantial; and that she is a very intelligent young lady, and protests her innocence; and that her father, who is here, worn down with years and cares, is not an abolitionist.

JUDGE O'NEALL.—We learn that a correspondence has taken place between the Rev. Dr. Marsh, of England, and Judge O'Neill, of South Carolina, on the subject of slavery. The Judge has undertaken to show that the Bible authorize slavery, and justifies the enactment and execution of the bloody slave code. Dr. M. is said to have written to the Judge a Bible argument, showing conclusively that the Scriptures afford no sanction to American slavery or the slave code. We hope it will be published.

KENTUCKY.—Another attempt has been made to call a Convention in Kentucky, for the purpose of amending the Constitution. This, like the attempts which have preceded it, failed, so jealous is the slave power of any encroachment on its prerogative. —*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

TEXAS.—President Jones has issued a proclamation annulling the recognition of Gen. Duff Green as American Consul at Galveston! The President, we understand, states that the honour and interests of the nation imperatively demand such a course. The cause of the flare-up between President Jones and Gen. Duff Green, we understand to have originated in a most insolent attempt on the part of Green to dictate to the President. The latter gently insinuated that when he desired Gen. Green's advice he would solicit it. This answer, it seems, raised Green's dander, whereupon it is said he had the indelicacy and want of good sense to threaten the executive, and intimated that he would make the executive office a very unpleasant resting-place for his excellency the President. Such conduct could lead but to one result. The President very properly ordered Green from his presence, and cut short his official functions. —*New Orleans Tropic.*

Late accounts from Texas state that the citizens of Fort Bend county had held a meeting to consider the question of annexation, and had declared, that "it now behoves us, as a nation mindful of our own dignity, to urge the question no further, but distinctly to make it known to the people of the United States, who have a far greater interest at stake upon its final issue than we can have, that the measure is one altogether acceptable to us upon equal terms, but for which Texas ought not to beg." The meeting repudiated all discouraging and "despairing" expressions touching the well-established ability of Texas to maintain her national independence. —*Times.*

CONFESSIONS OF A PLANTER.—The *Grenada Gazette* contains a long letter, signed "A PLANTER," in relation to the alleged unwillingness of the peasantry to labour. We hope the good sense apparent in the following extract is not confined to the writer. He says:—"We have hitherto acted independent of the negro. At the outset of his freedom, we fixed on a certain rate of wages and allowances; we have since then raised their wages and increased their perquisites; and lately we have lowered these wages, and deprived them of all extra allowances. Never, on any occasion, have they been consulted. We have never condescended to ask their assent to any measure having reference to our respective positions; forgetting that in all contracts both parties should have a voice. We have never endeavoured to ascertain from the negroes themselves, whether they disapprove, (although we have reason to think so,) of our mode of management, so far as relates to them, and whether they are prepared to propose any arrangement for carrying on the cultivation of the estates that may meet our approval, while it would satisfy them, and consequently establish a good understanding between both parties. Who of us can say, that the self-esteem of the negro is not wounded by our independent mode of procedure towards him, and that his conduct is not influenced, in some degree, by a spirit of opposition, as well as by his dislike to the present system of applying his labour. If we have hitherto acted erroneously, in not endeavouring to ascertain, from the negroes themselves, whether a satisfactory arrangement might be made between them and the landholders, let us now, even at the eleventh hour, try to come to a mutual understanding for carrying on the cultivation of our staple commodities. Adopt some mode of ascertaining whether such an arrangement be feasible. Endeavour to elicit from the labourers their sentiments on the subject. Endeavour, if possible, to

gain their confidence by giving them a voice in any change of system that may be proposed."

ILLEGAL EXPORT OF SLAVES.—The colonial code establishes the punishment of two to twelve months' imprisonment, and a fine not exceeding the value of the slave, nor less than 500 francs, against any person who shall have illegally exported, or caused to be exported from the colony one or more slaves. The court of cassation has just extended the application of this article to cases in which the slaves shall have been found on board of a vessel bound to a foreign island, even should such vessel not yet have entered the port. —*Les Antilles.*

THE SUGAR-CANE.—It is known that in 1842, the corvette *L'Aube* brought from Tahiti some plants of the sugar-cane selected from the richest species growing in that island, and which were intended for the purpose of renewing in the French colonies those plants which had degenerated. Entrusted to the care of the director of the Jardin des Plantes, in Martinique, these canes leave nothing to be desired in point of juiciness and beauty. The director of the interior has published in the *Journal Officiel* a list (which is here subjoined,) of the different kinds of canes from Tahiti, which will be distributed on application amongst the planters; and he adds some observations which will be of the greatest utility to them, enabling them to select such varieties only as are already well known to them. —*Courier.*

PUERTO-RICO.—The exports of sugar from Puerto Rico, in 1843, were about 40,000 tons weight, and of coffee 6,000 tons;—the sugar crop of 1844-5 will be as much, that of coffee less. There are cotton, tobacco, molasses, rum, hides also. The island of Puerto Rico, taken altogether, is thriving—its annual produce increasing—not that many planters make or save money there—there is much debt among them—but their habits are not very expensive. The debts of the dealers of Puerto Rico to people in St. Thomas, probably amount to nearly the value of the whole year's produce of the island, and have done so for many years past. Something is paid and paying by many; no fresh credits are given, and business goes on accordingly. From one year to another, the debt, generally is on the increase. —*St. Lucia Palladium.*

PORTUGAL.—In the sitting of the 12th inst., at the Chamber of Peers, Viscount da da Bandeira moved an address to the Queen, calling her Majesty's attention to the fact that the black population of the Portuguese colony of Angola, in Western Africa, though nominally free, are in reality in a state of slavery, being forcibly made to do the work of beasts of burden, and actually employed in conveying into the interior of the country the goods sent for the purpose of being bartered for slaves, in the performance of which service they are treated with the most wanton cruelty, being chained together in droves, half starved, and beaten for the most trifling fault or the least murmur. The consequence of such atrocities, it is stated in the address, is the death of numbers of those poor creatures, and the flight of many others into the interior; and those who remain, being prevented by long and frequent absence from attending to the cultivation of their lands, are reduced to the extreme of misery. Hence it is that the population of Angola, instead of increasing like that of all other colonies, is rapidly diminishing. The address concludes by exhorting her Majesty, in the name not only of humanity, but of sound policy, to take prompt measures for putting an end to so flagrant an abuse, the effects of which are the ruin of that colony and the encouragement and facilitation of the Slave-trade, prohibited alike by the laws of the country and by treaties with England. The Address has been ordered to lie on the table, and it is expected will shortly be discussed. —*Morning Herald.*

FUNERAL OF THE LATE SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, BART.—The mortal remains of this late respected baronet were interred on Thursday last, at Overstrand Church, Norfolk. The whole arrangements were conducted in the most simple and unostentatious manner. At twelve o'clock the procession left Northrepp's Hall, the residence of the deceased; but long before that time the roads were lined by the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, anxious to pay their last tribute of respect to the memory of the departed baronet. —*Times.*

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.		Subs.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Dominica—Bellot, Lewis F.	—	—	1	1 0
Rainy, W. T.	—	—	1	1 0
Tollington-park—Bridgewater, E.	—	—	1	1 0
Bristol—Clifton Ladies Auxiliary	10	0 0	—	—
Stourport—Zachary Thomas	3	0 0	—	—
Tottenham—Fox, Samuel	—	—	1	1 0
Hitchin Auxiliary	25	0 0	—	—
New Brunswick—Reade, Augustus, Esq.	2	0 0	—	—
York—Spencer, Joseph	—	—	1	1 0
Rowntree, Joseph	—	—	1	1 0
Candler, John	—	—	1	1 0
Copsie, F. I.	—	—	1	1 0
Tuke, Samuel	—	—	1	1 0
Harris, Charles	—	—	1	1 0
Walker, Abner	—	—	1	1 0
Williams, Caleb	—	—	1	1 0
Backhouse, Thomas	—	—	1	0 0
Fletcher, Martha	—	—	1	0 0
Fletcher, Caleb	—	—	0	10 0
Scarr, Hannah	—	—	0	5 0
Aberdeen Female Anti-Slavery Society	3	0 0	—	—
Stickney—Bliss, Christopher	—	—	1	1 0
Wotton Bassett—Makness, J.	—	—	0	10 0

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